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The Celtic Inscriptions of Cisalpine Gaul

By

Sir John Rhŷs

Fellow of the Academy

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THE CELTIC INSCRIPTIONS OF CISALPINE GAUL

By SIR JOHN RHYS

FELLOW OF THE ACADEMY

Read Jan. 29, 1913.

This paper is a belated contribution to the study of a subject of great interest to Celtic scholars. I had long been aware of the existence of a few remarkable Celtic inscriptions on ancient tombstones in Italy, and following in the path of our illustrious colleague, the late Whitley Stokes, I wrote about some of them and set others aside as being in my opinion not Celtic, though he had accepted them as such. I am referring to my paper read to the Academy in 1906 on 'The Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy', a title which was too wide, seeing how little Italy figured in my list at that time. I was also aware that there was a mass of inscribed objects to which Carl Pauli had devoted the first part of his *Altitalische Forschungen* as early as 1885; but I regarded most of that as a field too dangerous to invade, all the more so as Mommsen had previously covered most of the ground and had often struggled in vain with the inadequate data supplied to him.

My reluctance to study the kind of material to which I allude, in quest of more early Celtic, was overcome by a recent paper by the Upsala professor, Dr. Danielsson, *Zu den venetischen und lepontischen Inschriften*, and by his friendly challenge on his nineteenth page. Here I may explain that to avoid committing himself beforehand to the celticity of the inscriptions which occupy these notes, he uses *lepontisch* as a neutral term derived from the name of the ancient Lepontii, referring to whom Caesar wrote (iv. 10): 'Rhenus autem oritur ex Lepontiis, qui Alpes incolunt.' Modern geographers have accustomed us to the term Lepontine Alps, but what is more interesting is the fact that the upper course of the Ticino is called the 'Val *Leventina*', thereby perpetuating the ancient name in all probability without any interruption of phonological continuity.

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In the summer of 1911 I began to make inquiries as to the places where to look for the incriptions which had begun to interest me; that is, in what collections, public or private, I could actually see and handle them. On the whole the scholars who had written about them produced on me the impression that they had entered into a conspiracy of silence on the point: that impression was of course wrong. It was not a conspiracy of silence, it was ignorance of facts, which they had not made serious efforts to remove. I soon found that this was by no means easy to do, and my first trouble was that I did not know whither to direct my inquiries. At last I seemed to have got my information complete, but when I proceeded to put it to the test, I found that, except in the case of two or three of the more important museums, hardly anything was to be found where I had been led to expect it. What with my own stupidity and that of others, I never had so many disappointments in any other single month as in that of April, 1912. On the other hand, I cannot speak too gratefully of the invariable kindness with which I was treated, and of the help I received in all possible ways. Moreover, it is right to say that sometimes when I failed to find what I was looking for, I found something else, perhaps of no less value, apart from its being in any case an addition to the list, it being understood, of course, that what I missed had been recorded and had, to take even the worst view of it, not been wholly lost to archæological science.

Nevertheless, one likes to see and handle the precious remains themselves, and partly for a reason which the student of the ancient lapidary literature of the Latin language can hardly be expected fully to appreciate. Latin inscriptions exist in their thousands, and they help to interpret one another. They are also on an average comparatively easy to read, owing to the letters being well cut and to the cutting having been done on a surface levelled and polished for the purpose. But one is told, 'You can always get photographs.' That is true, but the value of a photograph is often rendered questionable by the senseless habit which they have in some museums of undertaking to paint the grooves of the letters, in North Italy with some kind of black pigment, and in France with red lead, which, let us hope, is no longer used there for such a purpose. In this process what happens is that letters receive features not their own, while others lose a limb or two. Who does the painting I have never succeeded in ascertaining: he is always anonymous. For short, therefore, we may call him the Office Boy, and it is intolerable that he should be the one to provide the texts for the study of epigraphy and ancient phonology. In Greek and Latin inscriptions the mischief cannot be so serious, since those

languages are so well known to scholars that they can seldom be led far astray. It is far otherwise in the case, for instance, of early Celtic, of which we have only a glimmering idea: hence the importance to the student of seeing for himself the texts on which he has to base the foundations of his study. I could illustrate my words by means of photographs which I have had procured for me on various occasions: some of them are worse than useless, inasmuch as they are definitely misleading. I cannot use them except now and then, perhaps, to give a general idea of an inscription and the distribution of it on the stone that bears it.

The plan of this paper is very simple: it divides the area with which it deals into four districts, as follows:—

I. Lugano and the country immediately surrounding it in the Canton Ticino. And there, having begun with a tombstone bearing two inscriptions of a philologically instructive nature, and having described them, I append some account of the treatment of the disputed question of dative and genitive to which they give rise, and the way in which it has been dealt with by the scholars who have discussed it. Then the other inscriptions of the district are gone through one by one in the light of the two previously chosen for treatment.

II. The *Vallis Diubiasca*, the name of which is perpetuated in the modern Giubiasco, the centre of numerous and important finds, covering the valley embracing the basin of the Ticino from Locarno at the head of Lago Maggiore to some distance beyond Bellinzona, its present political centre. To this I have ventured to add the course of the Moësa, with the little town of Mesocco in the southern corner of the Canton Graubünden, or the Grisons, as people speaking French call it.

III. The third region is politically all in Italy, and forms a sort of zone south of the Lugano district and bounded by a curve drawn from the neighbourhood of Lecco to Milan, thence to Novara, and from there to Lago d'Orta and Ornavasso on the way to Domodossola.

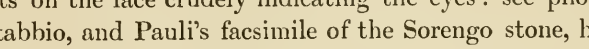
IV. There are a few inscriptions which are so placed as to suggest a fourth district, to wit, the country round the Lago di Garda.

Those four regions make up the Cisalpine Gaul of this paper, linguistic areas the boundaries of which may be expected to be enlarged by future finds.

I

1. The first inscriptions which I wish to mention are two that occur on a tombstone found at Davesco in the Valle Capriasca, north-east of Lugano, in the Swiss Canton of the Ticino. It seems to commemorate a man and his wife, and it forms Pauli's no. 11: he quotes a statement that near it were found many human bones. According to him, in 1885, the stone was in the possession of a certain Dr. Vanelli; since then it has found its way to the museum at Chur (pronounced Kūr, French Coire, Italian Coira), where I saw it in April, 1912. In both cases the lines containing the inscription approach one another so as to form the crude outline of a human head. Two other epitaphs have dots on the face crudely indicating the eyes: see photograph I, 5 (1) Stabbio, and Pauli's facsimile of the Sorengo stone, his no. 14: see also pages 16 and 20 below. I owe the Chur photographs to the kindness of Dr. Jecklin, the keeper of the museum, whose help in various ways during my visit was most acceptable; since then he has also kindly answered questions of mine more than once.

(1) One of the epitaphs runs as follows, reading from right to left:—



That is, *Slaniai Verkalai Pala*, which may be literally rendered 'For Slania Verkala, a grave or burial place'. The fact that this alphabet had no letters for the voiced consonants *b*, *d*, *g* leaves us at liberty to treat *Verkalai* as representing *Vergalai*, which will be seen presently have been the probable pronunciation; but it is not open to us to treat *pala* as *bala* for the reason that *pala* occurs with *p* in an inscription which is written in the Roman alphabet, and is to be noticed later. The interpretation of *pala* as grave or tomb is due to the well-known philologist, Paul Kretschmer: see Kuhn's *Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung*, XXXVIII. 101, where he connects it with Welsh and Cornish *pal* 'a spade', Welsh *palu* 'to dig', Corn. *palas*, the same. To *pal*, pronounced (according to the rule for unblocked vowels in Mod. Welsh monosyllables) *pâl*, one may add *paladr* 'a shaft', Irish *celtair* 'a spear or lance'. That would go to prove the stem to have been *qual-*, represented in Latin by *vallus* 'a stake, a palisade', and *vallum* 'a wall provided with stakes, a paling, intrenchment'. See Walde's *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s. vv. *vallus*, *valles*, and *vapor*, which he would trace to a stem *quap-*.[1] Should this con-

[1] When Stokes in his *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, forming volume II of Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*, p. 57, referred Welsh *palu* 'to dig' and such Old

jecture prove tenable *pala* would seem to be a Gaulish word indicating a plot of ground marked off for a burial place with stakes. In the instances where the *pala* formula occurs, we may presume that the burial ground was secured in the lifetime of the person or persons who intended to be interred there, a practice not unusual in the case of Roman monuments as proved by such formulæ as *se vivo* or *et sibi et suis*.

In any case the 'pala' was something to or for the person mentioned; for it is impossible for the most part to make anything of the endings of the names in the formula except endings of the dative case. In this instance we have a woman's name *Slaniai Vergalai*; and by its side occurs on the same stone, a man's name, probably her husband's, *Tisiui Pivotialui*; and the other Lepontine inscriptions of the same district, to wit, Lugano, count among them the following instances of *pala*:—*(Ve)rkomui pala*, mas. (p. 15). *Aai pala*, fem. (p. 14). *Otiui pala*, mas. (p. 14) . . . *kionei p(ala)*, and . . . *aniui p(ala)*, mas. (p. 22). *Pivonei Tekialui pala*, mas. (p. 20). These names, if masculine, would probably be in the nominative *Tisios Pivotialos*, *(Ve)rkomos*, *Otios*, . . . *anios*, *Pivonis Tekialos*; and the feminine singular nominatives would be *Slaniā Verkalā* and *Aā*, while *Pivonei* and . . . *kionei* being presumably of the *i* declension would have the nominatives *Pivonis* and . . . *kionis* of either gender. Here we are immediately concerned with the feminine dative in *-āi* which is countenanced by instances in Gaul, namely, Αιουνιαι 'to or for the goddess Aiunia', and Εσκεγγαι Βλανδοουικουνιαι[1] 'to Escenga daughter of Blandouicunos'; see my *Celtic Inscr. of France and Italy*, nos. viii and ix (pp. 19–21).

The name here in question *Slaniai Verkalai* represents, as already suggested, the nominative *Slāniā Vergālā*. To begin with

Irish forms as *cechlatar* 'foderunt', ro-*chloth* 'fundata est', and *to-chlaim* 'ich grabe' to the same root *qual-*, he left out the Welsh forms *cladu* 'to dig or hollow out a place in the ground, oftener now to bury in such hollow', and *clawd* 'a fosse or ditch, now mostly a dyke or fence standing above ground'. These and kindred forms in Welsh make it impossible to refer the Irish to *qual-*. When an animal such as the dog buries a bone or a piece of flesh in the ground for future food, he has first to scratch a hole in which to make the deposit and then to cover it up: the principal and most tedious operation is the *scratching*, and I should be inclined to refer the *clad-* words here in question to the same origin as English *cratch*, *scratch*, German *kratzen*: see the New English Dictionary. In any case the Welsh vocables are not to be severed from the Irish ones. Windisch noticed this but hesitated to decide: see Kuhn's *Beiträge zur vergl. Sprachforschung*, VIII. 39.

[1] Thurneysen, in his *Handbuch des Altirischen*, p. 131, regards the latter as 'griechische Kasusform'; but he does not give his reason for thinking so. Compare Danielsson's paper. loc. cit., p. 17.

Slāniā;[1] this implies a masculine *Slānios* in early Goidelic. We have compounds also such as *Slánoll* (Bk. of Leinster, fo. 19[a], *Slanoll*, ibid. 329[c]), and derivatives such as *Slanán* (Stokes & Strachan's *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, II. 364). There is some uncertainty as to the quantity of the vowel of the first syllable; we may perhaps regard it as originally long in them all, and treat the etymon as represented by the common Irish adjective *slán*[2] 'whole, healthy, healed, secure, safe, sound, well, perfect, complete, entire, uninjured'. The simple adjective *slāno-s*, *slānā*, had a derivative *slānio-s*, *slāniā*, which in Gaulish would be sounded *slānĭo-s*, *slānĭā*: it is therefore represented in Welsh by the correct equivalent *llonyđ* 'quiet, contented, tranquil'.

We now come to the next vocable, written *Verkalai*, which I have ventured to treat as *Vergalai*, the dative implying a nominative *Vergalā*, feminine of *Vergalo-s*. I should regard the dative as an adjective qualifying *Slāniāi*, being made up of *u̯erg-* and the termination *-ālo-s*, *-ālā*, which is best known in Welsh in such words as *misáwl*, *mísol* 'monthly' from *mis* 'month', *nefáwl*, *néfol* 'heavenly' from *nef* 'heaven', and hosts of others including among them some which appear to have been substantives, like the Welsh *epául*, *ébol* 'a colt' from *epo-s* 'a horse'; *gwennáwl*, *gwénnol* 'a swallow', Ir. *fannall*, *fandall*, fem. 'a swallow' (Book of the Dunn 62[b], Windisch, *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, p. 972[b]); see Stokes (Fick II. 261) who gives the early form as *vannello-* or *vennālo-* the latter of which is supported by the Welsh form; and *morawl* (Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 111), which is a derivative from *môr* 'sea' and seems to have meant a harbour, or a tract of sea, more or less land-bound, where ships might anchor.[3]

[1] In point of form this would yield in Irish a feminine singular nominative and genitive, *Slane* or *Slaine*, which we appear to have in *Aed Sláne* 'Aed of Sláne': there was a 'civitas quae vocatur *Slane*' in County Meath (*Thes. Palaeoh.*, pp. 259, 274, 298), and it was also the name of the river Slaney. But it should be noticed that these names have sometimes a spelling with *ng* instead of *n*, *Slange*, *Slainge* (see Hogan's *Onomasticon Goedelicum*): should these latter spellings represent the original pronunciation, the name has no place here; see Stokes in Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch*, II. 319, s. v. *slangio-*.

[2] It is also given as the name of a spring-well; see Stokes's *Patrick*, p. 323, where one reads of the Saint coming to the well of Findmag, which was called *Slan*, 'quia indicatum illi quod honorabant magi fontem et immolaverunt dona ad illum in modum dei'. They also gave it a name which is given in Latin as Aquarum Rex. See also Hogan's *Onom.*, s. v. *Slán*, and *Slán Pátraic*.

[3] Since this type was set up I have called to mind two more—*y vanachol* 'the monastery', and *Hafodol*, now *y Fodol* or *Fodol*, the name of an Anglesey farm, derived from *hafod* 'a summer place or sheiling'. See 'Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi' in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, pp. 110, 274.

The adjectival use of *-āl-o-* corresponds pretty nearly to that of *-āl-i-* in Latin, and just as *annālis* is derived from *annus* 'a year', we may regard *Vergālā* as derived from a name *Vergo-s* (possibly *Vergu-s*) of the same origin as the first element in *Vergobreto-s*, a Gaulish term supposed to mean *iudicio efficax*—according to Mommsen, *Rechtswirker*, one who has power to execute his verdicts. The word is of the same origin as the Old Breton *guerg* '*efficax*' and the English word 'work'; we have it also, or a nearly kindred form, in the Book of Leinster proper name *Forgg* (330[b]), *Forg* (330[c]), genitive *Phuirg* (351[b]), and (*Messin*) *Fuirc* (325[d]), though the commoner forms are of other declensions.[1] Lastly, besides giving as derivatives from *Vergiacus* the place-name *Vergy* in the Côte-d'Or, *Le Vergy* in the Haute-Saône, *Véria* in the Jura, and treating *Vergiacus* as derived from a man's name *Vergius*, Celtic *Vergios*, Holder quotes *Verg-* from two inscriptions occurring at Gurina in Carinthia, and one at Grenoble (*C. I. L.*, III. 12014. 576, XII. 2282). Whether the name in full was *Vergus*, *Vergius*, or some other derivative, it is now impossible to decide; but presumably it was related to our *Vergālai*.

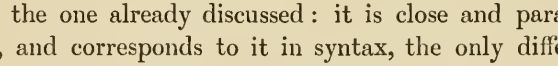
There remains the question of the meaning of the ending *ālo-s*, *-ālā* in Celtic epigraphy. I infer that the adjectives with that ending are to be construed here like those in *-io-s*, *-iā*, as *Riumanio-s* which might be literally rendered 'Riumanian' or 'related to somebody called *Riumanos*', whence *Riumanios* is derived, the special relation in this kind of context being that of son to father (*Celtic Inscr. of France and Italy*, xxiv). Similarly Σεγομαρος Ουιλλονεος would be Segomaros the Willonian, meaning 'Segomar son of Willonos' (ib. vi). I am now disposed to think that the termination *-eo-s* is a reduced form of *-aio-s*: instances have been collected by Holder, I. 72, and III. 541. In the same light as *-eo-s* may perhaps also be treated the ending *-āco-s*, so that Καβιρος[2] Ουινδιακος would mean

[1] Such as '*Fuirg* a quo *Hui Fargga*' (323[f]) implying an early *Forgi-s*, genitive *Forgi-as* of which we seem to have a later trace in *Hui Forca* (311[c]); but the most common spelling of the genitive in the pedigrees in that MS. appears to be *Forgo* (327[e], 330[a], 331[c3], 335[h], 347[g], 348[e], 349[c]) with an early form *Vorgos* (that is *Vorgōs*) in Ogam on a stone at Dunloe Castle, in Kerry. This suggests the *u* declension with nominative *Vorgu-s*, genitive *Vorgō-s*, with *vorg* for earlier *verg*: compare **Ver-tigernio-s* making in Irish Ogam inscriptions *Vortigern-*, *Vorrtigern-*, and see Thurneysen's *Handbuch*, p. 465. A nominative *Fergg* in the Book of Leinster (366[d]) is probably a blunder rather than a survival of the original stem with *e*. The treatment of the name in the Bodleian MS. Rawlinson B. 502 is characterized by the use of *Forggo* (*Forggu*, *Forgco*) as both genitive and nominative: see Kuno Meyer's *Index* to the same, p. 30. On the question of variant declensions see *Buccos* in the Berlin Corpus, vol. XIII, part iii, p. 119, and the note on it in my *Celtic Inscriptions of Gaul*, p. 19.

[2] In the *Revue Celtique*, XXX. 367, Professor Loth, in a kindly notice of my

'Cabiros the Windian', that is Cabiros son of Windios (*Celtic Inscr. of Gaul*, no. 3, p. 6). Thus we already have adjectives of two or three different endings, employed to form patronymics or family names, and I am persuaded that adjectives formed with the termination *-ālo-s*, *-ālā*, were employed in that way by the Celts of the neighbourhood of Lugano. The inscription in question *Slāniāi Verkālāi pala* would therefore mean 'For Slania daughter of Vergos a burial place'. Whether this interpretation is the correct one or not must depend on the degree of success with which the same key can be used in the other cases in point.[1]

(2) The other inscription on the Davesco stone reads from right to left like the one already discussed: it is close and parallel to it in position, and corresponds to it in syntax, the only difference being that it is in the masculine gender, as follows:—



That is *Tisiui Pivotialui pala*, which would mean, being translated like the other line, 'For Tisios Pivotialos a burial place'. But the names call for a remark or two on the value of their spelling. In the first place it is not certain whether we should regard the first name as *Tisios* or *Disios*: in favour of the former should be mentioned that there appears to have been such a Celtic name, which is found spelt *Tissio*, as a Latin dative in an inscription from the neighbourhood of Nîmes (*C. I. L.*, XII. 4145), to which Holder adds *Tis*... from Padua (*C. I. L.*, V. 2914), *Tiseno* from Poitiers (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 10017. 846), *Tisiācus* 'Thissy' in the dep. of the Yonne, where he also finds a place-name *Tissey*, implying *Tissiācus*, probably from a personal name *Tissios*.

It has been surmised that the other name written *Pivotialui* stands for *Bivotiālūi* (Danielsson, p. 16), the dative of *Bivotiālo-s*, that is 'son of *Bivotio-s*', which we have in Med. Irish as the ordinary adjective *béoda* 'energetic, lively'; see Windisch's *Táin*, pp. 7, 296. We have possibly a form of the same adjective in *Béde*, the name of a Pict who was Grand Steward of Buchan, in the Book of Deir (Stokes's

Celtic Inscriptions of Gaul, writes, among other criticisms, that he regards it improbable that Καβιρος is a borrowed name in our inscriptions. I am happy to accept that view as deciding the doubts which I had on the point.

[1] It is needless to say that the terminations here in question have their own shades of meaning and cannot always be pressed to fit a patronymic interpretation; as a rule they must be immediately preceded by a man or woman's name in an epitaph. Vice versa in such a position almost any adjectival termination of a wide application would seem to require to be interpreted in the patronymic sense.

Goidelica, p. 108). *Bivotios* seems derived from *bivoto-*, which probably meant 'life', and is to be referred to *biu̯o-* 'quick, living', Irish *béo*, Welsh *byw*, Latin *vīvus*, *vīva*, *vīvum*. This *bivoto-* seems to equate with the Greek *βίοτο-ς* 'life, sustenance', O. Bulgarian *životŭ* 'life': compare Lithuanian *gyvatà* 'life'. On the other hand Irish *béothu* 'life', genitive *bethoth* (Stokes's *Celtic Declension*, p. 26), and *bethad* (Thurneysen's *Handbuch*, p. 122), Welsh *bywyd*[1] 'life', come nearer to the Greek *βιότης*, genitive *βιότητος*, of the same meaning. In any case we appear to have *bivoto-* in the *bcod* of such Irish names as *Beothin* (Bk. of Leinster, 365[e]) and the genitives *Beodain*, *Beodan* (ib. 348[h], 368[f], 369[d]), *Beodgna* (ib. 352[c]), and *Beadri* (ib. 369[d]). With Celtic names from *béo*, *byw*, to which may be added such instances from the Continent as Holder's *Biuvo(n)* (read *Bivvo(n)* or *Biuuo(n)*), feminine *Bivonia*, both from Brescia or its vicinity (*C.I.L.*, V. 4136, 4487) and *Bivito(n)* or *Bivitonus* from Langres, may be compared the Latin *Vitalis*, *Vitalianus*, and *Vitalinus*,[2] from *vita* 'life'.

It remains to add some further notes on the dative masculine singular ending in *-ui*: comparison shows it to have been originally *-ūi* of the same formation as the Greek *-ωι* in which the *ι* ceased to be sounded though retained in the spelling *-Ωι* or *-ῳ*: in some of the dialects such as Boeotian it was *οι*, parallel with *ăι* for *ą*. In Latin the usual ending was *ō*, but old Latin shows an occasional *oi* as in *Numasioi* and *populoi*, Faliscan *Titoi* and *Zextoi*, while Oscan preserved *Abellanúi* (Brugmann's *Grundriss*, II.[2] II. i. 168, 282–5). In Gaulish the dative of this declension has usually lost its final *i* leaving simply *-o* or *-u*; there is evidence of the former being *-ō*, and presumably the *-u* was *-ū* likewise. As instances may be mentioned

TI.. ANNϢ, ANEVNΩ, ANEVNICNΩ, OCLICNΩ

(*Celtic Inscr. of Gaul*, pp. 47, 49, 55, photo. 9[a]). In other instances, to wit, in letters exclusively Latin, we have the final of the dative written V, that is *-u*, as in *Alisanu* (*Celtic Inscr. of France and Italy*, no. iii. D. 10). *Anvalonnacu* (ib. no. v, p. 12). But even in Gaul

1 point in Fick's II. p. 165, want revising: thus Welsh *bywyd* uivalent of Irish *biad* 'food', but the Welsh *bwyd* 'food', which omitted It is doubtful, however, whether *biad* and *bwyd* have ar there at all. Under *biu̯os* 'life' should appear the Welsh and Irish *it biu* 'in thy life' has its equivalent in the Welsh 'yn for an older *i'th fyw*.

sed apparently by the Déssi to render their *béo* names, and st as the barony of Corkaguiny in Kerry, where an Ogam was ago reading *Vitalin*. See the *Cymmrodor*, XXI. 48–50, and *ions of Gaul*, p. 65.

there occur a few instances with the *i* intact making the ending *-ουι* as in Γρασελουι (if that be the right reading and not Γρασελου) and Λομι. Ειυουι, *Celtic Inscr. of France and Italy*, no. iii, p. 29; no. xviii, p. 36). Probably the suggested reading Μαρεοουι should be corrected into Μαρεουι from a nominative Μαρεο-ς for Latin *Marius* (ib. x, p. 21: compare *Celtic Inscr. of Gaul*, p. 3). To these I failed to do justice until after becoming familiar with others which yielded readings admitting of no doubt, such as Βαλαυδουι Μακκαριουι, that is *Balaudui Maccariui* 'to Balaudos son of Maccarios', not *Maccarivos* which is probably to be cancelled (ib. p. 5); the man's name ending in .... σουι is probably to be treated as representing the .... *s-ui* (ib. p. 16) of some such name as Αδρεσσουι. Here also should be classed one of the spellings in the double inscription beginning with Αδγενουι δεδε 'gave to Adgen(n)os'. The other version has Αδγενοου δ[εδε] 'gave to Adgen(n)us' (ib. p. 18).[1] The longest inscription in Greek letters at Alesia makes *-οου* into *-ων* in the dative case Βιρακοτων and Κοβριτουλων. In a word the dative in *-ουι* = *-ui* implied a nominative in *-o-s*, of the *o* declension, and that in οου (or ων) a nominative in *-ους* = *u-s*, of the *u* declension.

A word must now be said as to the way in which the Lepontine inscriptions have been treated by philologists. Dr. Carl Pauli takes the first place, and his views may be consulted in his *Altitalische Forschungen*, Volume I, 'Die Inschriften nordetruskischen Alphabets,' published at Leipsic in 1885, in which (pp. 70 & seq.) he regards the forms in *-ūi* (from *-ōi*) and *-āi* as genitives and the language as Celtic. Later, in the *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* for 1900, no. 157, which I have not seen, he seems to have changed his view on the latter point, and to have referred the Lepontine inscriptions to a Ligurian origin; for in the meantime M. d'Arbois de Jubainville had undertaken to prove the language of the Ligurians to have been Indo-European: see the second book of the second edition of his *Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*. Moreover, between 1890 and 1894, the Italian archæologist Enrico Bianchetti carried out his numerous and important excavations at St. Bernardo and In Persona, both near Ornavasso at the southern end of the Valle d'Ossola, and wrote his account of the finds, which was published after his death by his friend Professor Ermanno Ferrero at Turin in 1895, with the title *I Sepolcreti di Ornavasso*, under the auspices of the *Società di Archeologia e Belle*

[1] On p. 8 of the *C. Inscr. of Gaul* we have the epitaph Μιτιεσι · Μιτις · Μαγουτι · Οννακουι which I am now inclined to render 'To Mitiesis, Mitis offspring of Magutios and Onna (erected it)'. In any case I treat κουι as *cui*, an equivalent of Latin *-que* 'and'.

Arti per la Provincia di Torino. In the year 1895-6 the Italian savant, Dr. Elia Lattes, discussed the Ornavasso inscriptions in vol. XXXI, pp. 102–8; and some ten years later he contributed an article 'Di un' Iscrizione anteromana trovata a Carcegna sul Lago d'Orta' to the *Atti della R. Accademia di Scienze di Torino*, XXXIX. (1904) p. 449 & seq. These scholars held the view that the names ending in *-ui* and *-ai* were genitives, and this supposition was accepted by Prof. Paul Kretschmer, in an important paper contributed by him under the title, 'Die Inschriften von Ornavasso und die ligurische Sprache', to Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. XXXVIII, for the year 1905. He came to the logical conclusion that as the genitive singular of the *o* declension hitherto known in Old Celtic, ended in *i* as in Latin, a genitive in *ui* must imply a non-Celtic language, which seemed to him to have been Ligurian. He discusses Ligurian and the people who spoke Ligurian, he examines d'Arbois de Jubainville's theory and confirms it: he makes valuable suggestions of his own. Lastly, Prof. Gustav Herbig in the Zurich *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde*, 1905-6, p. 187 & seq., made advances in the study of the question, but he adhered with certain reservations to Pauli's point of view. He returned to the subject in the *Indog. Forschungen*, XXVIII (1911), *Beiblatt*, pp. 23-6.

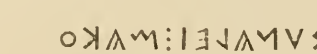
Then came Professor Herman Hirt, who in his *Indogermanen* (Strassburg, 1905, 1907) insisted on the inadmissible nature of the genitive theory, and gave the whole question its proper perspective by explaining the disputed forms as datives (II. 564), at the same time that he unavoidably made the language Celtic: compare his general views as to the Ligurians, whom he regards as non-Indo-European (I. 43-9). Next may be mentioned Thurneysen's notes in his *Handbuch*, I. 174, 180: they betray no objection to the notion of datives in *-ui* (derived from *-ōi*) and in *-āi*, of which the author gives as instance the Irish *mnái* 'to a woman'. His difficulty was the evidence for the reading of *-ui* and *-ai* in the inscriptions then known to him as Celtic. This is now removed by such undoubted forms as Ειιουι, Βαλαυδουι, and Μακκαριουι, cited above. Lastly, we have Danielsson's paper already mentioned, on the Venetic and Lepontic Inscriptions,[1] to which I owe most of my bibliographical information. He opens his review of the state of the question by calling attention to certain dative instances in Venetic, such as *ontei*, *appioi*, *sselboi*, and others, previously discussed in his pages (8–11, 14). He suggests some corrections (pp. 18, 19) required in Herbig's account of the inscription

[1] It was printed at Upsala in 1909, and is sold there for the Academy, by C. J. Lindström, and at Leipsic by Otto Harrassowitz.

of Carcegna on Lago d'Orta. This will be mentioned presently, together with some of the details noticed by Danielsson in the course of observations intended to distinguish from one another the datives and genitives of the masculine singular, and to demonstrate the language in point to have been Celtic.

2. Viganello, about half a mile to the north of Lugano. My daughter and I spent the 17th of April crossing from Stresa to Lugano, by steamer across Lake Maggiore, then by train to the Lake of Lugano, which we crossed on board another steamer and landed in the lower town of Lugano. We had arranged to stay at the Hotel S. Gothard Terminus, which is on the hill-side near the railway station. That was a mistake: it would have been more convenient to have had quarters at one of the hotels down near the lake. But we could see the town below us; and among other places outside the campanile of Viganello was pointed out to us, and next day I went there most of the way by electric tram. I did not feel sanguine as to finding the inscription I wanted to see, as my letters of inquiry to the parish priest, Father Pometta, had elicited the fact that the little oratory of S. Siro, where it should be, had been allowed to fall into ruins. I had no information where the little oratory might be, but a narrow pebbly lane leading uphill towards the campanile guided me to a doorless, roofless little building on the left. In spite of the ordure about the entrance there was no mistaking the fact that the little building had been a place of worship, as witnessed by the frescoes of forlorn saints, holy water places run dry, and the remains of the altar. I began looking for the inscription, but there was no stone of any size visible there except where the altar had been, or where the threshold still lay fixed. I went away to call on Father Pometta, who returned with me to renew the search; but it all proved in vain. He had not long been in the parish and did not know the oratory before the roof had fallen in. We left the place in disappointment, fearing that the inscription had been lost. The only chance of its being there was that it was covered by the rubbish which made it impossible to get at the floor. I have since written to the Cav. Giussani, who is certain that he can find the stone as he knows where to look for it beneath the rubbish. He has promised to make the search when the snow is gone, and it is to be hoped that the stone, when found again, will be removed to the Cantonal Museum at Lugano.

According to Pauli, no. 12, the inscription reads from right to left:



That is *Ṣunalei Makọ*, for he points the *s*, *u*, and *o* as of doubtful reading: in fact, of the *O* only a bit remains. Those who published the inscription before him had copied it as *sunvlei · mak*; but he was very decided in reading *-alei* for what they made into *-vlei*, and he remarks that Fabretti's drawing of a squeeze by Dr. Balestra showed the first half of the *O* at the end. Giussani in his Tesserete paper[1] agrees with Pauli, remarking only that the writing is now doubtful, and giving the *l* on the strength of the reading of Pauli and other readers of the inscription before his day. Giussani (p. 22) gives the dimensions of the stone as 1·05 metre by 0·32 and the height of the letters as 15 centimetres.

The reading which I am inclined to suggest of the inscription in its original state is *Sunalei Makoni Pala* 'a burial place for Sunalis (son) of Maconios'. I cannot follow Holder in treating *Sunalei* as if it were *Sunalai*: I take it to be the dative of *Sunali-s*, the name of the man or woman commemorated, rather than that of his or her family. He quotes a number of apparently kindred forms, *Sunici* or *Sunuci*, a name of neighbours of the Ubii, *Sunicius*, *Sunilena*, fem., *Sunna*, mas., *Sunnacius*, *Sunnarius*, *Sunnovira*, fem., *Sunua*, fem., *Sunutius*, *Sunutia*, together with others beginning with *son-*. The nearest in point of formation here seems to be *Sunil-ēnā*, suggestive of a masculine *Sunil-ēno-s*: compare such Irish names as *Baith-ēn-e*, *Dorbb-ēn-e*, *Ern-ēn-e* (Latinized as *Ferreolus* in Reeves's Adamnan's *Life of Columba*, p. 237) and without the final *e* (= *i̯os*) *Brēnd-ēn*,[2] one of the various forms of St. Bréndán's name. Irish also throws light on the probable etymon of the names beginning with *sun-*, which we have in Stokes's article on *sunno-* 'shining, bright'; this he gives on the strength of Irish *for-sunnud* 'enlightenment, illumination' and of kindred words in that language: see Fick II. 306. For the other name I have suggested a genitive *Maconi* with the word for son or daughter omitted as usual. Holder cites a Latin inscription with the words

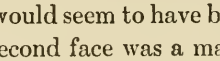
[1] The paper was published in 1902 in the *Rivista archeologica della Provincia e antica Diocesi di Como*, under the title 'L'Iscrizione Nord-Etrusca di Tesserete e le altre Iscrizioni Pre-Romane del nostro Territorio'. At the time of my visit I had unfortunately not seen this article.

[2] Occasionally we have the diminutive suffix *-ēn* represented in Welsh, namely, by *-wyn*, as in *iyrchwyn* 'a little *iwrch* or roebuck', *morwyn* 'a maid, a girl', with the plural *morynion* from a slightly different stem, and *guiannuin*, Med. Welsh *gwaeannóyn* (Skene's *Four anc. Books of Wales*, II. 308), Mod. Welsh *gwannwyn*, and *gwinnwyn*, mas., Cornish *guaintoin* 'the spring of the year', postulating a Protoceltic form *vesant-ēno-s*: compare Latin *vēr* (= *vēsr*) and Sanskrit *vasantá* 'spring'. In point of derivation the French *soleil* supplies a parallel as it presupposes a Latin *soliculus*: compare also such German words as *Hornung* and *Frühling*.

'Tertia Dometia Maconi filia': it comes from Valperga, north-east of Turin, near the river Orgo, which falls into the Po at Chivasso. Here *Maconi* is possibly the genitive of *Maconius*; at any rate both *Maconius* and *Maconia* occur elsewhere, and Holder cites also *Macconus*. The only alternative to *Maconi* of either origin, which I can suggest, is an adjective in the dative *Maconālui* or *Maconālai* according as *Sunalei* was a man's or a woman's name. The other conjecture seems preferable.

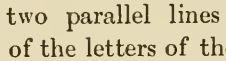
3. Tesserete in the Valle Capriasca, to the north of Lugano. A slab of stone, now in the Lugano Museum, was discovered at Tesserete in the year 1900, with writing on both sides of it consisting of three inscriptions. Two of them, on what I may call the first face, commemorate persons who would seem to have been a man and his wife. The remaining one on the second face was a man's. The dimensions given by Giussani in his Tesserete paper are 1 metre by 0·70 by 0·13, and the height of the letters he estimates as 15 centimetres. They are enclosed between two parallel lines in each case. The lines forming the boundaries of the letters of the woman's epitaph meet at the top to form a rude sort of head and face, with the left eye indicated by a point: the right one I could not trace. Where the husband's head should be, the stone is broken off; see Giussani's sketches of these inscriptions.

(1) The feminine inscription reads from right to left:—



That is *Aai pala*, which means 'For Aa a burial place'. The letters of this line slope, and some of them have gentle curves instead of what should otherwise have been vertical straight lines. *Aa* seems a somewhat peculiar name, but possibly a soft consonant has been elided, such as a spirant *g*, between the vowels, and the name represents some such form as *Agā* from a stem nearly related to that of Irish *ág*, genitive *ága* 'conflict, battle': the women of the ancient Irish took a regular part in war. The wife is here given no family name, which is the case also with the two men commemorated.

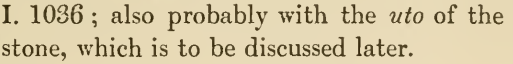
(2) The husband's epitaph runs parallel with the wife's, and reads:—



The verticals of these letters are lines which do not palpably slope: they can hardly have been cut by the same hand as the wife's epitaph. Giussani gives the punctuation as three points, but I failed to detect the middle one. The reading makes *Otiui Pala*—'For

Otios a burial place'. Whether we should treat the name involved as having initial *ŏ* or *ō* is uncertain, but the latter would lend itself to the comparison of *Otios* with the Irish *uath* 'fear, horror'. In that case *Otios* would be an adjectival formation derived from *ōto-*, and might be explained as 'formidable, inspiring fear', as in the Irish *Uathach* 'fearful, to be dreaded', and *Uathmór* 'greatly to be feared'. The stem *ōto-* here assumed would probably admit of being identified with the *otu* of the genitive of *Otu-aneunus* in the Latin inscription on the triumphal arch at Saintes in Western Gaul, for which see the Berlin Corpus, vol. XIII. 1036; also probably with the *uto* of the *Utonoiu* of the Andergia stone, which is to be discussed later.

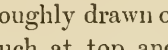
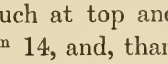
(3) The inscription on the other face of the stone is partly defective at both the beginning and the end. As it stands it begins with an ᑫ with its perpendicular nearly all gone, and except its first limb the last letter of *pala* is now scarcely traceable. The last joint of the ᛗ is also a little damaged; nevertheless the whole reads without any serious doubt from right to left like the other two lines :—



That is in Roman letters . . . *rkomui pala*, where, be it noticed, a letter or two are gone at the beginning: it probably wants a vowel. On trying to complete the name we arrive at the conclusion that a vowel only will not avail. But taking *Komui* alone we see that we have here the dative of *Como-s*, *Comus*, *Comux* (fem. *Coma*), from which is derived the name which comes down in the manuscripts of Caesar's Commentaries as *Commius*, while *Tincommius* was the name of one of his sons, on British coins *Commios* and *Tincommios*, probably contracted from *Tinco-commios* (*C. Inscr. of Gaul*, p. 27), also *Comiacus*, the existence of which is proved by such place-names as *Comiac* and *Congé* or *Congy*: see Holder's details. A variety of Irish derivative names of this stock occur in the Book of Leinster pedigrees, such as *Comman*, *Cummin*, *Commine*, *Cummene*; and we seem to have the etymon in the form Stokes gives as *kombo-* whence he derives Irish *comm* (*coimm*) 'clothing, shelter'. In that case *Commios* may have meant one who affords shelter, a protector or guardian, and *Tincommios* 'protector of the thing or court'. Stokes connects his *kombo-* with the Greek κόμβος 'a roll, band or girth': compare the Hesychian κόμβωμα 'that which is girded, a robe'. This would suggest another interpretation of the name *Commios*, to wit, that of 'one who is arrayed in fine raiment'. But neither interpretation may have been the true one: we can only form a conjecture. Now if we have a dative in *Komui* or any complete name, we cannot

well be mistaken as to the preceding *r*: it is the remains of the prefix *ver* as in *Ver-cassivellaunos*, *Ver-cingetorix* and the like. In the present case the whole name was probably *Ver-comui*, the dative of *Ver-comos*, better *Ver-commos*.

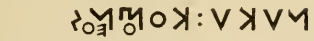
4. Maroggia is a little place on the south-eastern shore of the Lake of Lugano, at the foot of Monte Generoso. There, in a heap of stones thrown away on the brink of the water, was found in 1904 a piece of sandstone bearing an ancient inscription enclosed by grooves forming a roughly drawn oblong boundary, which the extremes of the lettering touch at top and bottom. The stone measures 0^{m} 70 by 0^{m} 47 by 0^{m} 14, and, thanks to Giussani, it is now in the Cantonal Museum at Lugano, where I saw it last April.

I take these details from his account of the stone which he published, with a photograph, in 1907 in the Como *Rivista*. He suggests two readings  , that is *Aipro*, and  , that is *Aiero*. He gives the preference to the former, and compares it with the *aipra-upz* of an inscription on an Etruscan urn in the Bucelli Museum at Montepulciano. On the other hand I feel forced to prefer the reading *Aiero*, either for an older nominative *Aiero-s* or an older dative *Aieroi*. Assuming this reading to be correct, the composition of the name may possibly have been *aies-ro-s* with the Celtic affix *-ro-* of which Holder has collected instances. The name would mean 'of the nature of metal, like metal'; that is to say, like the chief metal in use when the name was formed, whether bronze or iron; for when *aies-* did not mean metal or ore generally, it is not certain which metal was meant by the Aryan word postulated. Thus the name *Aiero-* and its etymon may be taken as a sort of parallel to the Latin adjective *aenus*, *ahenus* 'of copper or bronze, firm or invincible, hard and inexorable', and to its etymon *aes*, *aeris*. On *aies-* see Brugmann's *Grundriss*, II^{2}. I. 519.

5. (1) S. Pietro di Stabbio, a village to the west of Mendrisio, which is south of the Lake of Lugano. There, in 1864, was found a stone reading from right to left in the direction away from the head, which is broad in the face and marked by two dots indicating the eyes. The lines enclosing the inscription and ending in the broad face are not straight grooves but punched outlines, apparently of a rather tight dress without any suggestion of arms or hands, while nearly opposite the perpendicular of the last there are short grooves pointing outwards on both sides, which may have been intended to indicate the points of the figure's feet. It is Pauli's no. 16, and it is given also in Giussani's *Tesserete*, p. 18, where the dimensions are mentioned as 1^{m} 50 by 0^{m} 50. I saw it in the museum at Chur,

and Dr. Jecklin's photograph numbered I, 5 (1) Stabbio, should be consulted, let me say, for more reasons than one, as the following remarks will serve to show.

The reading seems to be :—



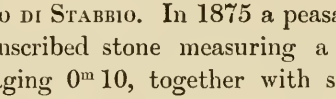
That is *Minuku Komoneos*. Here we have the O made small and also the Ǝ, for the OƎ are placed beneath the arm of the ᛘ preceding them ; similarly, the second O is placed beneath the outstretching parts of the ᛖ. This last means *m*, and is perhaps derived from the old ᛘ (=*m*) of five joints, while the first *m* in the same line is so crude that I cannot analyse it with certainty ; but I have no doubt that the two were meant for *m*. Traces of the same sort of *m* occur also in one of the Giubiasco graffiti, which will come under notice later. Lastly, the photograph will be found to establish the presence of a small Ǝ (= *e*) underneath the branch of the last ᛘ (= *n*). This is left out in Pauli's reading, which accordingly has led everybody to think this patronymic a different word from the first of the vocables in the next epitaph, which comes from the same place.

As to the name *Minuku*, it happens that a remarkable monument found at Turin mentions a person called T. Minuconius Alexander (*C. I. L.*, V. 6953), where *Minuconius* analyses itself into *Minu-conius*, which may have meant Minuconian in the probable sense of 'son of *Minucu*', that is *Minu-cū*. For we have here *cū*, with the oblique-case stem *cŏn-* yielding in the genitive, for instance, **con-os*, in Irish Ogam *conas* or *cunas*, as in *Glasiconas* from Gortatlea and Ballintaggart, and *Gamicunas* from Lugnagappul, all in Kerry, and *Maglicunas* from the bilingual at Nevern, in Pembrokeshire. For other names beginning with *min-* see Holder, who has, besides *Minuconius*, inscriptions reading *Minui. M*(*anu*), *Minui O*(*fficina*) and *O*(*fficina*) *Minui*, as well as the derivative names *Minutus* and *Minuta*, which may be Celtic and not Latin, for they occur in Britain, Spain, Gaul, and the Rhine region. The remarkable inscription *Dieupala Minui* has already been alluded to as to be discussed later. Now the least common factor of these names appears to be *minu̯-* which seems to have meant in Irish 'little or small'; the spelling is given by Stokes as *menb*, pronounced *menv*, in Modern Irish *meanbh* 'small', and *meanbhacha* 'small particles, *smithereens*'. In the Welsh story of 'Kulhwch and Olwen' the equivalent is *Menw*, the name of a magician who shifts his shape into that of a bird (Oxford *Mabinogion*, p. 135). Further afield we have an equivalent in Oscan *menvum* '*minuere*', and in that Latin word itself. Thus *Minu-ku*, genitive **minu-con-os*, would

literally mean 'little hound, little dog', in the sense of 'little guardian', with *cū* meaning, as it usually does in Celtic personal names, protector or champion.

The other word *Komoneos*, derived from a form *Commono-s* (or *Common-* of the *n* declension), is related to the *Comos*, better *Commos*, already mentioned as the form from which *Commios* has been derived, and like the latter it is probably to be regarded as an adjective with the termination *-eo-s*, of which an instance Ουιλλονεος, from Gaul, was given on p. 7 above. Treated in the same way we should have to interpret *Komoneos* as meaning 'son of *Kommonos* (or of *Kommon-*)'. The Irish names, to which those beginning here with *comm-* correspond, have been mentioned on p. 15 above.

5. (2) S. Pietro di Stabbio. In 1875 a peasant digging a place for vines found an inscribed stone measuring a metre by $0^{m}40$ and a thickness averaging $0^{m}10$, together with some urns and fibulae, which, as well as the stone, are preserved in the Archæological Museum in the Castello Sforzesco at Milan. The stone forms Pauli's no. 17, and is to be seen attached to the wall of a ground-floor room in the Rocchetta. It is a rough slab supposed to have been placed over a sarcophagus, and it reads from right to left, thus:—



That is *Komoneos Varsileos*: I could detect no straight lines enclosing the two rows of letters. The latter are complete except the last Ǝ, which is damaged and disjointed at the top; the only other possible reading would be *Varsilaos*, which leaves the interpretation open to doubt; but the inscription probably means 'Com(m)onean Varsilean', that is, 'belonging or relating to Com(m)onos who belongs to Varsilos', or 'Son of Com(m)onos son of Varsilos', or else 'Son of Com(m)onos and of Varsila'. I am inclined to the last view, that the unnamed person interred was son of parents named Com(m)onos and Varsila. The reason for his not being named was, I take it, his being an infant that had not lived long enough to receive a name of its own.

Komoneos has been already discussed, but the other name *Varsileos* implies *Varsilos* or *Varsila*, which, however, are not given by Holder: only the derivatives *Varsilios*, *Varsilia*, appear, with the simpler feminine which he quotes as a Latin dative *Varsae*, implying a nominative *Varsa*. The origin of that name, if Celtic, is vaguely indicated by the Irish *farr* 'a pillar or column' from an early *varsos*, Welsh *gwarr*, now written *gwàr*, 'the uppermost part of anything, the top of the back, the nape of the neck': see Stokes (Fick,

II. 275), s. v. *varsos-*. Holder states that Pauli saw in *Varsa* a Venetic name, and the former alludes to an Etruscan *Varsilius*. Though the language of the inscription is undoubtedly Celtic, I should not feel surprised if the names *Varsa*, *Varsilius* and kindred forms should prove to be not of Celtic origin.

5. (3) S. Pietro di Stabbio. Here, according to Giussani (loc. cit., p. 17), was found in 1857 a rough stone reading, from left to right in the Etruscan alphabet, the following two lines :—

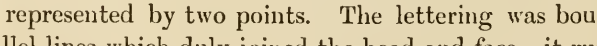
The S of the first line is inverted and the second line offers a difficulty : through the middle of the first six letters a sort of groove runs which was probably the result of an accident. The A, I, T are all plain ; then comes what looks like an F joined at the top to the K, but the two bars are horizontal, with the upper one ending at the top end of the vertical part of the K and the other at the middle of it. This lower bar, however, might be only a portion of the groove to which I have already referred as produced through the KO. We should then have as the writing, ΓK with the Γ joining the top end of the perpendicular of the K, but a Greek Γ has no business here, and I fall back on F = Ⅎ, that is A, though Pauli (no. 15) does not give the bars of the Ⅎ but merely I : in other words, my reading would be AIXAKONEXI while his was AIXIKONEXI. He goes further, and in his mind he squeezes the I, X, I into contact one with another, with the result of producing one of the forms of the sibilant which he transcribes *ś*. This he did because he fancied that *Aitikoneti* sounded very improbable, 'eine Form *aitikoneti* hat einen sehr unwahrscheinlichen Klang,' a most unsatisfactory reason. I see no excuse for reading anything but *Aitakoneti* or else *Aitikoneti*, which is, perhaps, somewhat less probable.

We now come to the syntax, which is at once seen to differ from that of most of the previous inscriptions, as we have here a nominative followed by a genitive, and we render it into Latin as *Alcouinus Aetaconeti* (*filius*), that is 'Alcovinos son of Aitaconetos': compare *Martialis Dannotali* 'Martial son of Dannotalos', or *Doiros Segomari* 'Doiros son of Segomaros' (*C. Inscr. of France and Italy*, pp. 4, 10). The names before us are difficult to explain, though they may both be compounds, *Alko-ϖinos* and *Aita-coneti*, the genitive of *Aita-conetos*. In these inscriptions consonants are not doubled, so we might expect to find the name *Aita-coneti* written elsewhere *Aita-conneti* : compare *Con-conneto-dubnus* or *Con-conneto-dumnus*, and see the *Revue Celtique*, IX. 82. The other element in *Aita-con(n)etos* occurs incomplete as

Ait . . . on an urn at Cambridge, and as *Aeta* of both genders elsewhere (*C. I. L.*, VII. 1336. 1249, III. 5029, 6513). It is possible that in *Aita* we have a word of the same origin as Med. Irish *aite*, Mod. Ir. *oide* 'fosterer, tutor'. This, should it prove tenable, would suggest another interpretation of the epitaph, with *aita* treated as an apposition nominative, thus—Alkouinos foster father or tutor of Con(n)etos.

The other name *Alko-vinos* has *n* representing *nn* for *nd*; for it occurs as *Alco-vindos* at Rodez in the dep. of Aveyron: see Holder, I. 89. This difference of spelling indicates a possible difference of pronunciation between the Celtic of the Aveyron and that of the Ticino and North Italy. *Vinos* = *Vindos* meant 'white', but the meaning of *Alko* is uncertain. Possibly it is of the same origin as the Welsh word *alch* 'a grating' and the compound *ast-alch* (plural *cst-ylch*), which is probably a hybrid beginning with the Latin *hasta* 'a spear', and means 'a shield or buckler', literally 'a spear-shield, a shield to ward off missiles'. The whole name would accordingly mean a man 'who is white as to his shield, one who carries a white shield'. The whiteness of the shield is referred to in Irish stories such as 'Fled Bricrenn': see Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 259, where one reads of the three rival heroes of Ulster goaded to fury against one another, seizing their weapons, with the result that one part of the royal hall assumed the appearance of the quick movements of a flock of pure white birds, which was due to the lime or chalk of the shields—*combo énlaith glegel alleth n-aile* [dind rígthig] *di cailc na scíath* 'so that the other half [of the king's hall] was (that is "resembled") a bright white flock of birds'.

6. Sorengo, to the south of the Lake of Lugano, is a place where the stone which is Pauli's no. 14 was found many years ago. But when I came to inquire after it I found that the parish priest knew nothing about it, and on further search I was distressed to learn that it had been destroyed after having been removed by an engineer to a place near Tesserete, called Sonvico. This I learnt from Father Santo Monte who is in charge of the Civic Museum at Como, and one of the archæologists best informed as to the ancient inscriptions of the whole district. Pauli represents the stone as reading from right to left and upwards towards the bust, which has the eyes represented by two points. The lettering was bounded by two parallel lines which duly joined the head and face: it runs thus—



That is *Piuonei Tekialui lala*, but *lala* is probably a slip made by the

inscriber and to be corrected into *pala*, the word we have had so often before. *Piuonci* is a name from *biu* 'quick, living, life', whence *Biuotialui*: see p. 8 above.

Accordingly this is to be pronounced *Biuonci*, presumably the dative of *Biuonis* of either gender, which can be identified with Irish *Beoin* given as the name of a virgin in the 'Martyrology of Gorman' and in the 'Martyrology of Donegal', both on February 1.

The *tek* of the other name is difficult to fix in point of pronunciation as the possibilities may be represented thus $\frac{t}{d}\,e\,\frac{c}{g}$: on the whole I am inclined to select *dec*. The word would then be *Deciālu*, dative masculine of *Deciālos*, formed from a Celtic name *Decios* or perhaps the Latin *Decius*. In either case *Deciālos* would mean Decian, that is to say 'son of Decios', or 'belonging to a Decian family'. So the inscription may be rendered 'a burial place for Biuonis son of Decios'. *Decios* seems to appear in Irish as *Decce* (Bk. of Leinster, 325[a]), genitive *Decci*, *Décci* 324[g], 325[g], *Decce* 325[a], 351[b], *Déice* 336[g], *Deicce* 350[f]), but *Deche* is more exactly what one wants, and it occurs as a genitive (ib. 351[a]). However, the doubling of the consonant may be due to the tendency to give the stems of hypocoristic forms of personal names a staccato pronunciation.

7. Aranno, a village in the hills to the west of Lugano and looking in the direction of Neggio. According to the owner of the livery stables from whom I hired, it was about 15 kilometres from Lugano; up hill and down dale, I found it a very pleasant excursion. At Aranno in 1842 there was found, according to Giussani's *Tesserete*, p. 15, a stone which covered a sepulchre devoid of bones or any furniture. It was broken by the workmen in the course of the excavations, and only four fragments of it were recovered, making, as he thinks, altogether about a square metre in area. This find is Pauli's no. 13, and the fragments, which I shall take in his order, were built into the wall of a house in the village, where one reads them with anything but comfort; they ought to be taken out of the wall and placed in a museum where one could judge whether any of the pieces fit one another.

They all read from right to left, as follows:—

(*a*)... A ᒧ ⁝ M O ᒧ ..., that is ... *lo̤m ila* ... The only certain letters are *ila* preceded by three points of which the topmost is rendered uncertain by the breakage. The top of the first ᒧ is broken off; the O is a sort of patch and not a clear circle; the M may not be an M at all but N I or even the character transcribed *ś*. Pauli gives the fragment as *a̤so̤ni* ⁝ *ila* with *aso* dotted underneath as doubtful. How he

guessed his first *A* I was not able to understand, but for the sort of twisted perpendicular to which ᛊ (=*S*) is sometimes reduced in these inscriptions there is room before the O, though I could not find it there. The presumption, however, from Pauli's statement is that the *S* is there, as against my negative. The reading in that case would be ... *lsom* ⁝ *ila* ... These letters were probably bounded by two straight lines: the one underneath is there still.

(*b*) .... ᛁᚬ .... The ᛁ is followed by a part of the perpendicular of a letter which I cannot identify: it may possibly be the three points which would be required for the reading, *AI* ⁝ as the end of a name in the dative feminine, probably followed by *pala*: Pauli read *ain*. The lettering was bounded by two straight lines.

(*c*) ...ᚬᛘᛟᛁᚷᚬᛘ... that is, ... *mationa* ... These letters are all certain. The *M* is of what is considered the most ancient form, with its limbs consisting of five straight lines, and the ᚬ is somewhat peculiar in having its first limb gently curved inwards. The boundary parallels are present here also.

(*d*) This is a block with portions of three lines of reading as follows:—

ᛏ:ᛁᚹᛁᛘᚬ ...
ᛏ:ᛁᛇᛘᛟᛁᛊ ...
:ᛁᚷᛁᛘᚬ= ...

That is

... aniui p
... kionei p
... aamiti

The first ᚬ of the first line has its first limb gone, and it seems to have been an ᛅ without the middle tag: so with the second symbol in the third line: this form of A in Latin inscriptions is well known, but Pauli makes it an imperfect ᛅ and in the third he gives no A of any kind, his reading being ‖*ion*‖. The first letter of the second line is imperfect as the commencement of it is gone: I am not sure whether it should be read ᚴ or ᚷ; the angles seem to indicate ᚴ. The =, which is all that is left of the first letter of the third line, can hardly have belonged to any other than ᛏ or ᛇ, though one would have expected the arms to droop. The letters *aamit* are only guesses, and utterly different from Pauli's reading.

Now .. *aniui* was the dative of some such name as *Slanios*, and ... *kionei*, the dative of some such form as *Bucionis* or *Buccio* (of the *n* declension), may have been applied to a woman. We may suppose that we have here the epitaphs of husband and wife, which is favoured by the fact that the *p* of the one line, standing nearly

opposite that of the other and representing *pala*, formed the end of the line, and that the parallel grooves joined to form the outlines of two faces. The right reading of the third line has not yet been discovered, but I suggest a genitive *Aamiti*: see Holder's *Amitius*.

Were the M of only four joints to prove correct, it would prove improbable that *Mationa* . . with an older form of *M* could have been on the same stone. In other words, we should have to regard these fragments as belonging to at least two stones. Several of these points could be investigated more thoroughly if the stones were to be placed together in a public museum, which is much to be desired.

II

1. Still in the Ticino, the canton which has Bellinzona as its capital, we come to a place, in the ancient *Vallis Diubiasca*,[1] now named *Giubiasco*, about 2½ miles from Bellinzona, in the direction of Locarno at the head of Lago Maggiore. Here great finds were made in the years 1900 and 1901. The urns and other sepulchral furniture unearthed there have been divided between the Cantonal Museum at Lugano and the Swiss 'Landesmuseum' at Zurich. The latter seems to have all the inscribed vessels found at Giubiasco. I visited the Zurich Museum at the beginning of April, and found Dr. Viollier at the head of the Prehistoric and Roman Section; he gave me every facility for examining the inscriptions. These have been published by Prof. Herbig in the *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde* (Zurich) for the year 1905-6, beginning at p. 187. He calls them '"Keltoligurische" Inschriften aus Giubiasco'. At least three of them are scribbles which I cannot read, and two of them seem to be in Latin, of which more anon. The others are the following:—

(1) Reading from right to left we have ᐯ1ヨXᐱ, that is *Atepu*, on a black varnished bowl, marked 15974 in the museum, measuring 0m 06 in height by 0m 16 as its greatest diameter. The writing has been scratched just above the foot of the vessel.

This name I take to be a nominative of the *n* declension, and I should compare it with *Frontu* borrowed from Latin where it was *Fronto*, and with *Elvontiu* and *Nappi-setu*. Compare *Seton-ius*, with a Latin ending, and see my *C. Inscr. of France and Italy*, pp. 46, 54, 59. All that need be said of *Atepu* is that it was a hypocoristic

[1] See d'Arbois de Jubainville's *Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*, II². 68, where he gives 'Vallis Diubiasca infra fines Langobardorum' as mentioned in the year 739 in the testament of Abbon in favour of the Abbey of Novalèse.

or shortened form of some such names as the Gaulish *Atepo-maros* and *Atepo-rix*.

(2) Also reading from right to left, on a small urn no. 15747, we have ⸸◇ꓶꓱ1V⊐, that is *Rupelos*, with the tops of the letters looking towards the top of the vase. The vessel is 0^{m} 11 high by 0^{m} 13 as its greatest diameter. The perpendicular of the *r* is produced a little below the semicircle of the letter, which makes it look somewhat like a flabby *q*. There is one peculiar letter here, to wit, the last but one, which I have given as ◇, crudely formed, but Herbig has read it O, which is what one would expect.

In this North Etruscan alphabet, owing to the habit of not doubling consonants or of distinguishing between voiced and voiceless mutes, we are left at liberty to suggest *Rubellos* as the real name, which I do on consideration of the data for comparison supplied by Holder. He gives first *Rubel(l)inus*, which he cites from Néris and Jublains in France: see *C. I. L.*, XIII. 10006. 74, 166, where it is represented as part of a stamp impressed on basins, apparently giving the maker's name. There is a second name in point, namely, *Rubelliasca*, where he detaches *asca* and infers a man's name *Rubellius*, but treats the whole *Rubelliasca* as the antecedent of the modern place-name *Roviasca*; this latter, however, may come from a shorter personal name, *Rubio-s*, said to occur on bronze coins of the Atrebates. That is, the place may have been called *Rubelliasca* and *Rubiasca* indifferently, implying the equivalence, roughly speaking, of *Rubellios* and *Rubios*. Of the *l* forms two at least are mentioned in guide-books as local names not far from Lugano, to the east *Ruvigliana* and somewhere to the north *Rovello*, in point of form the precise equivalent of our *Rupelo-s*. The forms without *l* also make a remarkable group, containing, beside *Rubios* recalling the place-name *Rovio*, south of Lugano, the two gods' names *Rupac-asco* (the hyphen is Holder's) and *Robeo*, in an inscription which he cites from Demonte in Piedmont—*L. Crispius Augustinus duumvir diis Rubacasco et Robeoni votum s. l. l. m.* Holder also enumerates such modern names as *Rouvenac* (Aube), *Rubigny* (Ardennes), *Ruvigny* (Aube), and *Rubignacco* (in the dialect of Frejus), all converging on *Rubiniacum*, derived from a man's name *Rubinios*. Prof. Herbig compares other kindred forms. The origin of these names is obscure, but they may be kindred with the Latin word *robus*, *robur* 'the heart or core of a tree, especially the oak, hardness, firmness, force'. Holder calls attention to *Rubacascos* and *Rubelliasca* as having a Ligurian element *asco-s* and *asca* appended. The addition, be it noticed, is to ready-made Celtic names, *Rubāco-s* and *Rubellio-s*.

(3) On an earthenware vessel, numbered 14909, and measuring in height 0^m 11 by 0^m 19 as its largest diameter, we have, reading from right to left:—

ΙΞΜΟΝΙΧΛ

That is *Atilonei*. The N is disjointed at the top, and there is a crack near the *l*, but no letter is gone.

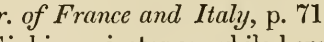
The name is a dative, but to which of two stems it belongs is not certain, *Atiloni-s* of the *i* declension or *Atilo* of the *n* declension. Holder[1] pronounces for the latter, for he has an instance of this kind of dative, to wit, a Latin *Atiloni* in an inscription from Novara: see *C. I. L.*, V, 6533, which reads as restored by the editor:—

C · ATILONI · CALLIMO[rpho]
QVI · VIXIT · ANNIS · XIIII

Novara is in a district where the Etruscan alphabet and spelling were familiar, so I treat *Atilonei* as entitled to *nn* in spite of the Latin inscription, where one would have expected *Atilonni* with *nn* or *nd*, for which *nn* sometimes stands. This is not a mere guess, as is proved by Latin inscriptions involving a name which is nearly related, to wit, *Atlondus*, genitive *Atlondi*, from *Atelondus*, genitive *Atelondi*: see *C. I. L.*, II. 76, 3082, 4980. We happen to have the genitive of this name in Ireland, to wit, in Ogam on a stone at Kilbonane in Kerry, and the spelling there is *Addelona* or *Addilona*—I was not certain which, but Prof. Stewart Macalister reads *Addilona*. In either case it has lost a final *s* that would complete it into *Addelon-as*, which in Continental Celtic would be found to end in *-os*: Irish inscriptions have *ă* for Protoceltic *ŏ*. Here we also have *n* for *nn* or *nd*, but the singling, though common enough, was not a rule of Ogmic spelling as in the North Etruscan orthography of Celtic names. The element *lond-* is explained by the Irish adjective *lond* 'wild, excited, fierce, strong', whence Mod. Irish *loinne*, fem., which Dineen explains as meaning 'joy, gladness, rapture; great excitement; rage; strength, force', Welsh *llonn*, *llòn* 'cheerful, *iocundus*, *laetus*'. The prefix *ate* or *ati* is in manuscript Irish *ath-*, *aith-*, Welsh *at-*, *ad-*, and has pretty much the meaning of *re-* in Latin. So the names here in question might be regarded as signifying 'wild of mood or temper, whether with joy or anger'.

[1] Holder under *Atilonei* (vol. III. 724), which he queries as Ligurian, refers the reader to a Latin nominative *Atilonius*, which I have not succeeded in finding in the columns of his great Treasury. Prof. Herbig (loc. cit., p. 204) suggests in connexion with *Atilonei* a nominative *Atilonius*, but I am inclined to think, that, on purely Celtic ground, it should be either *Atiloni-s* or else *Atilo* of the *n* declension.

(4) Another earthenware vessel (no. 13988), described as a 'vaso a trottola' $0^m 13$ high by $0^m 19$ at its greatest diameter, has on it letters reading from right to left which I copied as :—



That is *Pirakiuueś*, which I would resolve into *Piraki vveś*; but there are several remarks to make on the lettering, which is altogether crude. In the first place the ᛦ is imperfect in the lower arm, but I took it to be *k*, to wit, somewhat resembling the one occurring on the Todi Stone, twice as ᛁᛈ (*C. Inscr. of France and Italy*, p. 71), except that the two parts touch in the Giubiasco instance, while here the lower part of the curve is almost completely gone. Passing the next letter one comes to something like a 'broad arrow', ᛘ: I would regard it as a W or VV ligatured of which more forms than one occur in the Celtic inscriptions of the Continent (loc. cit., pp. 84, 95): and for VV (fully written), especially between vowels, compare a few mentioned in my *Celtæ and Galli*, pp. 63, 64. Up and down the pages of Holder more will be found. In any case there seems to be no reason to think that we have here a symbol for Greek χ. The last letter of the line is ᛞ, but it is carelessly formed with what should be its last bottom corner left wide open.

Having thus attempted to establish the reading *Pirakivveś* the question arises as to resolving it: to begin with, I seem to find here the genitive of *Biracos*, which Holder cites from a silver coin, and in the Etruscan spelling it is the genitive of *Pirakos* seen on another silver coin, to wit, one found near Burwein in Canton Graubünden. There the nominative reads from right to left. See Pauli, pp. 6, 91, where he treats it as pronounced *Biraco-s*, which had a Latin derivative *Biracius*: compare also *Biraco*, Latin genitive *Biraconis*, given by Holder together with other related forms: see *C. I. L.*, III. 5698, V. 4153, VIII. 5630. In Ireland it occurs in Ogam at Ballyknock in Co. Cork, in the doubtful genitive form of *Biraco*, for the *o* is not certain, and the complete reading may have been *Biraci* of the same declension as on the Continent. The dative Βιρακοτων occurs at Alise-Ste.-Reine, and is probably to be divided into Βιρα-κοτων with its first element to be equated with the stem of Irish *bir*, *bior*, Welsh *bēr* 'a spear, lance, pike, a spit', Latin *veru*. This is supported by the mediæval Irish form which was *Berach*, genitive *Beraich* or *Beraig*. So *Pirakos* = *Biracos*, *Berach* should mean 'armed with the spear'. See *C. Inscr. of Gaul*, p. 46, and Stokes's *Martyrology of Oengus*, pp. 74, 242.

After *Piraki* we seem to have *uueś*, but what does that mean? I should fancy it to be the beginning of a longer word, but what that

word may have been I cannot say. Possibly it may have been *uesu-* 'good', which became in Irish *fíu* 'worth, equivalent in value', Welsh *gwiw* 'worthy, worth one's while'. In that case I should interpret the whole *Piraki uues*, to mean 'Biracos's property': compare the English 'So and so's *goods*'; and German 'Hab und *Gut*', meaning 'goods and chattels'.

(5) No. 15431 is a little earthenware vessel measuring $0^m 05$ in height by $0^m 22$ greatest diameter. It seems to read from right to left

That is *Aximiai*, or else *Aximai*, followed at a distance by a letter which I could not make out. There is a groove drawn so clumsily above the letters that it goes through the corners of the last ones. With regard to my reading, I must say that I arrived at it only by leaving out of consideration a number of scratches, which I would treat as accidental. There is a difficulty about what I have come to regard as a Latin M instead of an ancient ᛖ. For, more exactly speaking, it looks as if the scribbler first made a very crude *m* like the *m* of *Minuku* or of *Komoneos* (p. 17 above), and then tried to alter it into an ordinary Latin M. Thus the reading would be *Aximai* (dative feminine of *Axima*) not *Aximiai*. Professor Herbig's reading is *ąśimẹi*. The last letter I have read is ᛁ with possibly two ornamental short strokes, such as are not unusual in inscriptions in the North Etruscan alphabet; this combination is not to be confused with Pauli's ᚼ = *h*, where the short lines are permanent: see his discussion of that point, loc. cit., pp. 49–51. The most remarkable character here, however, is ᛪ, or X with its two upper points joined by a straight line. The letter X had as its ordinary value in the North Etruscan alphabet that of T, so I venture to regard the horizontal line as meant to prevent our pronouncing it so in this instance, but as Latin X = *ks*. The line joining the two top arms of the X seems to be extemporized, for in an inscription at Ornavasso, to be mentioned later, the horizontal line is placed underneath to join the arms at the bottom, thus, X, as will be explained presently. This view is corroborated not a little by the fact that the name exists elsewhere: witness Holder's instance of *Aximus* the eponymous genius of Aime-en-Tarantaise in Savoy; also as the name of a man. The feminine would be *Axima*, which we seem to have here in the dative case. Needless to say *Axim-* seems to supply the basis of the French *Aime* itself. There are related forms quoted by Holder, such as *Axius* and *Axia*, *Axiounus*, *Axillius*, and others. They may all be related to the Greek word ἄξιος 'worth so much'; compare

μνᾶς ἄξιος = μνᾶν ἄγων 'having the weight of a mina': see Curtius's *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*[4], p. 170: he regards ἄξιος as derived from the root *ag* as in Latin *agere*, *axis*. The same enters into various Celtic words, such as Irish *ad-aig* 'Lat. *agit*', in Welsh *a* (for *agit*) 'goes or will go' (see Stokes, Fick II, p. 6). But of more particular interest is the Irish genitive *Essemna* or *Essamna* (Bk. of Leinster, fo. 338[a], 347[a] and Meyer's 'Rawlinson B. 502', fo. 137[b], 144[a]), implying a nominative either *Acsiomoni-s* of the *i* declension or *Acsiomon-io-s* of the *io* declension. *Acsiomon-* compares with the Irish (Ogam) genitive *Segamon-as* (in Latin *Segomo*, dative *Segomoni*, discussed in *C. Inscr. of Gaul*, pp. 73, 74); and *Arios-mo* of the *n* declension making in Old Irish nom. *Airem*, genitive *Airemon* or *Eremon*, later genitive *Eremoin*. This late genitive has, roughly speaking, a parallel in the Book of Leinster (350[e]) in the genitive *Essamain*, which comes still nearer to the late form *Segamain* for *Segamon*, Ogmic *Segamonas*. Thus *Essamain* points indirectly to an early form *Acsiomonas*, Continental *Axiomonos*.

(6) Some very crude scratches on the earthenware vessel no. 15229, measuring 0[m] 05 high by 0[m] 11 greatest diameter, seem to read from right to left ᚐᚇᚁᚔᚈ, that is *Koiśa*. The *o* is shaped rather like a square with the right-hand lower line produced below its junction with that of the other side; also with a straight line bisecting the figure from the top angle to that at the bottom: in other words, it would be a sort of parallel to ⊙ for O—in any case it must have been meant for a vowel. The last letter but one may have been *ś* but possibly an *m*. Taking the former, the name would be *Koiśa*, which Holder cites from a silver coin of the Celts of Pannonia: so *Coisa* would seem to be masculine. It recalls the man's name written *Koisis*, on the Todi bilingual (*C. Inscr. of France and Italy*, pp. 70–4). Should the letter *m* prove the more probable we should have *Koima*, a woman's name of the same origin as the derived *Koimila* on one of the Levo stones to be mentioned later. Dr. Herbig's reading here is *Kφiśa* or *Koiśa*.

(7) A few scratches occur also on the vessel marked no. 15288, measuring in height 0[m] 095 by 0[m] 25 greatest diameter; the letters are inside the circle of its foot, and they may possibly be ᚈᚏᚔ, that is *wak*, read towards the left, and looked at, as it were, from the centre of the circle. Dr. Herbig suggests χ*ak*, which implies his looking at the graffito from the same direction as I have suggested. I agree as to the strokes he has read, but I would interpret it rather as *uak* or *wak*. What either χ*ak* or *wak* meant I cannot guess; but if the former proves tenable, I should regard it as a stray non-Celtic word

or abbreviation: I should be surprised to find any use for either χ or φ in Celtic in the neighbourhood of Bellinzona.

(8) On the bottom of a simple urn measuring 0m 09 in height and having the same as its greatest diameter we have what reads from left to right ΛVMΛ or from right to left *Amua*. There is no means, I fear, of deciding in which of the two directions the letters were meant to be read, for both Λ's are of the old form Λ, consisting of only two lines. The Λ standing by the V is somewhat peculiar in having its outer limb consisting of two pieces: where it approaches the other limb it ceases to be perceptible, but I seemed to detect a continuation of it on the other side as if it had been roughly X. The bottom of the V is somewhat damaged, the surface having been bruised a little by some accident. I can make nothing of either *Auma* or *Amua*. On turning to Dr. Herbig's account of this little inscription, I find that he takes no notice of what I regard as the production of the outer limb of the left-hand Λ, and that he thinks the lower and larger piece of that limb is the result of accident. Disregarding that, he is able to read (from right to left) IVMΛ, that is *Amui*, which, had it been possible, I should welcome, and regard as the dative case of *Amos*, meaning 'to or for Amos'. Further, I should treat it as the short spelling of *Ammos* for an earlier form of the *Ambos* which we have in *Cisiambos* on coins of the Lexovii, who left their name to Lisieux in the dep. of Calvados: see Holder, and compare the related forms cited by him, such as *Amba*, *Ambatus*, *Ambata*, *Am(m)ius*, *Am(m)ia*, and others. Lastly, the reading of this inscription as a dative *Amūi* would harmonize well enough with the fact that the Giubiasco grave from which it comes has been pronounced the most ancient of the group (Herbig, loc. cit., p. 190). But I suspect traces of Roman influence in the M and the two Λ's, and unfortunately I do not here feel able to accept Dr. Herbig's reading. Possibly the reading *Auma* is to be taken and equated with *Oma*, quoted by Holder from a Gaulish silver coin given by Muret & Chabouillet in their *Catalogue des Monnaies Gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 5936. Against this it must be admitted that Holder seems to treat *Oma* as only an abbreviation; but compare *Omise*, p. 59 below.

(9) Thus far all the inscriptions scratched on the vessels from Giubiasco read from right to left, including the last though doubtful; but there remain possibly two or three which read in the contrary direction. Of these the first to be mentioned is DĖMV, that is *Remu*, which looks as if it stood for the older dative *Remui* 'for Remos': the plural was *Remi*, the name of the leading tribe of the Belgic Gauls, which is perpetuated by that of their town,

'Durocortorum Remorum', which we call Rheims, in the dep. of the Marne. Holder cites *Remus*, genitive *Remi*, also as an ordinary personal name found outside the territory of the Remi, for instance in the neighbourhood of Vicenza in North Italy, and that of Trent in the Tyrol: see also *Remus* in the Latin inscription found at Alise mentioned in the *C. Inscr. of Gaul*, p. 34.

(10) The next vessel is conically shaped and varnished black, with a low foot and a projecting rim. The height is 0^{m} 095 and the greatest diameter is 0^{m} 25: the form and dimensions are the same as of no. (7). The inscription is on the outside just above the foot; and, reading from left to right, I make it ᚹᛁᛟᚹ, that is *Riop*. I may add that a straight line slanting slightly upwards runs through the bottom of the ᛁ, the lower portion of the ᛟ, and beneath the short line of the ᚹ; it can hardly be accidental, but what the object of it may have been I cannot say, unless it was to cancel the writing.

The letters seem to give us only the first portion of a name to be pronounced *Riop.* or *Riob.* and analysed into *Rio-p.* or *Rio-b.* in which *rio* is a reduced form of *rīgo-* 'kingly, royal', as to which see Holder, s. v. *rīgŏ-*. Compare *Rio-be* cited by him as the ancient name of Châteaubleau, in the dep. of Seine-et-Marne, and the Irish name *Ríg-bard*, from *Rīgo-bardo-s* (*Irish Nennius*, genitive *Rigbaird*, p. 266), and *Ríg-bardan* for *Rīgo-bardano-s* (Bk. of Leinster, 329[c], 336[b]), genitive *Rigbardain*, in Anglo-Irish *Riardan*.

(11) The scratches to be next mentioned are on a cup of a hemispherical form 0^{m} 05 in height with the upper diameter of 0^{m} 16. The letters are on the outside, and their tops almost touch the upper rim of the vessel. I guess them to be *uou* or an abbreviation of some longer name; but Dr. Herbig reads them *lou*, and he may be right. There is the initial difficulty in my case, that I cannot decide in which direction the scribble is to be read.

*** A small torque or bracelet of silver has cut on it the letters XDIV in which Herbig sees Roman numerals.

*** Here must be mentioned a fine bronze helmet from Giubiasco measuring 0^{m} 24 in height, with interior diameters of 0^{m} 21 and 0^{m} 19, a decidedly brachycephalic case. The rim or seam forming the jointure of the two halves of the helmet begins in the middle of its back, and runs right over the top and ends in the middle of the forehead. The helmet is heavy, and I found on trying it on, that it came down completely over my nose and reached nearly to my chin.

Near the beginning of the seam to which I have referred, and cut into it, is an inscription which is in the Latin language, mostly in Latin letters but showing the influence of Etruscan writing in some of

the characters. I took them to be ||ИIXOFE, that is *Enoixo fc(cit)*. The use of Latin || for E is to be noticed, the FE have exactly the droop of the North Etruscan form of AE, and the two O's consist each of four straight lines, ◇, somewhat badly jointed and left open at the bottom, ◇. I took the second letter to be a disjointed N but Dr. Herbig reads it ΛI, that is *li*.

My reading would analyse itself into *En-oixo*, and with *Oixo* one may equate OISʘ in a fragmentary inscription from Auch in the dep. of Gers (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 478). Holder puts it down as Oiso... and regards it as a dative feminine, which he should not do without indicating how he finishes the word. Owing to the very imperfect state of the epitaph, it is impossible to prove that *Oiso* is not the whole name and an unlikely dative feminine. The prefixed *en* perhaps represents *endo-*, *enda-*, *enna-*, *-eni* or *-ini* 'in': compare such names cited by Holder as *Endo-vellicus*, *Ena-barri*, *Eni-boudius*, *inigena* 'a daughter', literally 'inborn'. I should rather have expected an I making the name into *Eni-oixo*. All this depends on reading N; but I am by no means certain that Dr. Herbig's reading, though he gives it with hesitation as (*E*)*lioixo*, should not be preferred. In that case I should be inclined to associate the name with the ..*lioiso*.. of one of the potsherds given in Pauli's no. 18 (p. 39, below). They were found at Rondineto near Como, and are now in the Como Museum: I did not succeed in detecting in them anything very conspicuously Celtic as regards language. In any case ..*lioiso*.. should probably be completed at the beginning into *Elioiso*...; there is no difficulty as to *x* and *s*, since in Latin *x* may have stood for *ss*. There might, however, be some difficulty as to the lambda form of the *l* in ||ΛIOIXO should that prove the correct reading. Λ for *l* is regular in the Sondrio alphabet (Pauli, p. 56), but why should we have it at Giubiasco? This, however, leaves a previous question unanswered—the name was that of the maker, but where was his workshop?

2. Mesocco (or Misox) gives its name to the valley in which it lies, otherwise called the Val Mesolcina, and the river draining it is the Moësa which empties itself into the Ticino some miles above Bellinzona, whence there is an electric railway to Mesocco, where it ends, some twenty miles from Bellinzona. About nine miles further one reaches the village of St. Bernardino, which gives its name to the well-known Bernardino Pass, through which lies the way to the Splügen and the Hinter Rhein. Here at Mesocco a plot of ground was being cleared of stones years ago when a kind of mica slab was come upon about a metre in the ground. It was inscribed, and seems to have formed the cover of a grave. It measures about 0^{m} 75 by 0^{m} 25, and is

broken at both ends, but no letters appear to have been lost. It is now in the museum at Chur, and the reading consists of two lines from left to right, as follows, with a groove running between them as in the photograph, II. 2, Mesocco, which see :—

ᚡᚨᚳᚨᚡᚾᚨᚳ
ᚳᚨᚾᚨᚾᛁ

This makes *Raneni Valaunal*, and on the lettering I have the following notes to make. The last ᚨ in the upper line has its lower arm curved, and ending perpendicular to the interlinear groove. The tag of the ᚳ reaches in both cases to the level of the middle of the letters. I observed that the ᚾ's all ended almost vertically, and that the second of them did not appear to me so badly formed as it looks in the photograph.

The first line is incomplete, for complete it should be *Valaunali*: why the final vowel of the genitive ending should have been omitted does not appear; it was not for want of room. Treating *Valaunāli* as the complete form it would be the genitive of *Valaunālo-s* 'Valaunian', that is 'related to Valaunos in the sense probably of being his son'. *Valaunos* occurs in Irish Ogam from the parish of Aglish in Co. Cork as a genitive *Valamni* with *m* representing the sound of nasal *v*. The Gaulish was Vellavno-s as in *Vellauno-dunum* and *Dumno-u̯ellauno-s*, *Cassi-u̯ellauno-s*, *Catu-u̯ellauni*, nominative singular *Catu-u̯ellaunos*. It is not quite certain what *u̯ellaunos* would become in Welsh: compare *Celtic Britain*, p. 289[3]. But the forms *Dyfnwallaun* and *Cad-wallaun* would seem to prove that it was *gwallaun*, *guollaun*, *gwallon*. This would help us to correct the Goidelic *Valamni* into *Vallamni*, which occurs in the MS. 'Rawlinson B. 502' fo. 120[a], line 34, to wit, in *Hui Follomuin* 'Descendants of Follaman', and in the Book of Leinster, fo. 313[a], in the same clan name *Hui Fallamain*, in later spelling *O'Fallamhain*, reduced in Anglo-Irish to *O'Fallon* (of the Clann Uadach in the barony of Athlone, Co. Roscommon): see the indexes to *The Four Masters* and the *Annals of Ulster*. It will be noticed that the *Valauno-s* postulated by *Valaunāl-i* approaches *Valamni* more closely than it does the *Vellauni* of Gaulish and Brythonic; but Holder quotes some forms with *vall-* and not *vell-*: see his *Vallaunus*, *Vallaunius*, and others.

The other name *Raneni* may stand either for *Ranneni* or for *Rāneni*. The latter would be referable to the same group of words as Welsh *rhawn* 'the long hairs of a horse's tail', Irish *rón* 'horsehair', while the Breton equivalent also meant the 'mane' of a horse, and 'soie de porc'. From a *rān* of this origin a man's name might be formed

connoting his having rough, coarse hair: compare the Irish *Mongán* from *mong* 'mane', and *Mong-finn* 'white-maned'. The other, *rann*, would be represented in Irish by such words as *rann* 'a part or share', *rannaire* '*partista*', and in an Ogam at Gortatlea in Kerry *Niotta Cob-ranor-*, in genitives, which might be rendered 'Nepotis Partistae' or 'Nepotis Distributoris'. The termination *-eni* genitive of *-enos* of a suffix *-ēno-* (fem. *-ēnā*), or perhaps rather *-ēnio-* (*ēniā*), is very characteristic of Goidelic names, such as *Ernēne* (*Erneneus*, latinized *Ferreolus*), *Crasēn-i* (genitive), *Oissēne* (*Oisseneus*), *Baithēne* (*Baitheneus*), *Brendēn-us*, *Cumēne* (*Cummeneus*): see the index to Reeves's Adamnán's *Life of St. Columba*.

There remains to be discussed the relative positions of the two words of which the inscription consists. Read like the others it is

VALAVNAL(i)
RANENI

which would mean '(The grave) of the son of Valaunos, Ranenos'. To Dr. Danielsson this did not sound right, and he came to the conclusion that it should be read upwards *Raneni Valaunal(i)* 'Of Ranenos son of Valaunos'. In the case of a similar epitaph from Levo, to be mentioned presently, he pleads the analogy of many Etruscan inscriptions (*so viele etruskische*), p. 53, and suggests that in the case of a word in concord with a preceding one, they are more readily intelligible if you leave out the case ending of the second name rather than that of the first, that is, if you make an omission at all. Thus treating *Raneni* in Dr. Danielsson's way, it is to be read first and *Valaunal(i)* second, the whole being taken to mean 'The (grave) of Ranenos, son of Valaunos'.[1] In this way we are not obliged to decide whether the adjective might not come indifferently after or before its noun in early Celtic when its case endings were still intact.

3. Andergia. From Mesocco, which is on the right side of the Moësa, there is a diligence to S. Bernardino, and another from there over the Splügen into the Chur country; but if, instead of proceeding higher on the Mesocco side, you cross the river, you come in ten or fifteen minutes to Andergia, where the little chapel of S. Giuseppe contains the inscribed stone which I was looking for. The line of writing occupies the middle of an oblong stone with a bevelling nearly all round it. I made the dimensions to be 2 feet 10 inches by 1 foot 6 inches; and the material seems to consist of a sort of hard, reddish

[1] He compares *Bratronos Nantonicn(os)*, where, however, one might say that there was a lack of room for finishing the second word. It would be hard here to prove lack of room for the final *I*.

stone. My reading of the epitaph nearly coincides with that given by the Cav. Giussani in his *Tesserete*, p. 24 (Fig. 11), as follows :—

IOCVI ·ΥXONOIΧ:RINɦΛDI·

The peculiar characters are those for *v* or *u* : the two in the middle word are Υ and Χ inclining in opposite directions. The V in IOCVI is like them in having a stem produced downwards, though it is not so conspicuous or so oblique. In any case I take the three to be meant for the same character, *v* or *u*. In the space between the first and second name I thought I detected the lower of the two points which I expected there, but I could not fix the other or account for the width of the gap. The R beginning the third word is peculiar, and seems to be the result of the writing having been tampered with, which is certain in the case of the letter following the N of this word ; for, as it stands, it makes a sort of minuscule ɦ with its perpendicular somewhat produced upwards, while the other limb is extended downwards to end almost in a curl directed outwards and towards the reader's right hand. Below the Λ there is a line drawn, but scarcely touching the Λ. However, it is perhaps near enough to have been regarded as a ligature representing AL, so that the whole would be ***Rinhaldi***, a sufficiently near approach to ***Rinaldi***, the Italo-German name of the man locally supposed to be commemorated by the stone.

Turning back to the epitaph as a whole, one is struck by the fact that it consists of three words, the first of which seems to be a dative in *-ui*. The suggestion naturally offers itself, that it is parallel to some of the Lugano instances, such as that of Davesco, reading *Tisiui Pivotialui pala* (p. 8 above). So one is led to suppose *Iocūi* to be the dative of the name of the man commemorated, and *Utonoiū*, another dative serving as a qualifying word of some kind, and standing for an earlier *Utonoiūi*. The explanation of the omission of the final *i* here, while retained in *Iocui*, would probably be that the latter being shorter had undergone less weakening of the final syllable. Lastly, the original of the third word, now distorted, may have been, I take it, synonymous with the word *pala* of the Lugano formula.

Let us now try to attack the legend more in detail, beginning with *Iocui*. The occurrence here of C instead of K is to be noted as one of the proofs of the influence of the Roman alphabet. Underlying it, however, one would perhaps be right in postulating the methods of North Etruscan spelling, and in treating the C as here pronounced G. Even to fall back to that extent on Etruscan orthography is, however, not obligatory, as will be seen immediately. At all events I

regard *Iocui* as representing in sound *Iogui*, dative of *Iogo-s*, a curtailed name suggested probably by such compounds as *Ver-i̯ugus*, *Rigo-veri̯ugus*, and *Veri̯ugo-dumnus*, connected with an early substantive *i̯ougo-n*, *i̯ōgo-n*, *i̯ūgo-n*, in Welsh *iou*, *ieu*, *iau* 'a yoke, *jugum*', Irish *úghaim* 'harness, hames, panniers', *ughamaim* 'I accoutre, I harness or yoke', and kindred forms for which see Dinneen's *Irish Dictionary*, and compare Stokes in Fick's Vol. II, p. 224. M. d'Arbois de Jubainville interpreted *Veriugus* (found written in the dative case, and with *c*, *Veriuco*, as is likewise the genitive of a related *Ateioucus*, *C. I. L.*, XII. 1770, 4006) as meaning him who has a large yoke. Further, he says that '*Ver-jūgo-dumnus* est le dieu remarquable par le "très grand joug" où sont attachés les chevaux qui traînent son char'. See his *Noms Gaulois*, pp. 58–61, and note that we have here Latin *c* for *g* in *Veriuco* and *Ateiouci*.

We come next to the second name *Utonoiu*, which seems more likely than *Uxonoiu*. It has already been suggested that it represents an older dative *Utonoiūi*, and it is, probably, to be analysed *Uto-noiu*, with its first element *ūto* to be identified with the *ōtu* of the name *Otu-aneuno-s*[1] of an inscription at Saintes. This element has already been mentioned in connexion with *Otiui*, dative of *Otio-s*, a derivative presumably of the same origin: see p. 15 above. The remainder of the name here in question, to wit, *Noiu*, should be the dative of *Noio-s*, and *Noio-s* a derivative from *Noo-s*, perhaps better *Nōo-s* or *Nō-s*, which we seem to have in the genitive *No-cati* (not *Duno-cati*) in an Irish Ogam inscription from the parish of Knockane in Kerry, now in the National Museum in Dublin. One of the names related to the *no-* here in question, occurs in Med. Irish as *Noe*, interchanging with *Gnoe*, so that we get the valuable hint that the original form began not with *n* but with *gn*. Acting on that hint one turns to Holder's Treasury and finds that he has a feminine *Gnoia*

[1] *Aneunos* is already known, together with its derivative *Aneunienos*, both on a stone found at Genouilly (Cher), now in the museum at Bourges; see *The C. Inscr. of Gaul*, pp. 54, 55, where I have conjectured that the former name meant 'One who greatly partakes of the nature of Esus'. Another derivative occurs on an ornamental slab of white marble found at Olonio in the neighbourhood of Gera near the northern end of the Lake of Como. The stone measures 1m 10 by 0m 38 by 0m 12, and reads :—

I O M
ANEVNIATES
V S L M

It has been published by Giussani in his Como *Rivista* for 1908, and it is now in the Civic Museum of that city, where I saw it.

from the vicinity of Coridico in Istria (*C. I. L.*, V. 317). The *gno*[1] of *Gnoia* is to be referred to the same origin as Latin *nōsco* 'I know',

[1] Stokes calls attention (Fick, II. 116) to O'Clery's *Glossary* where it has *gno* explained as *oirdeirc* 'conspicuous' (*Rev. Celtique*, IV. 401 (s. v. *dionn*) and V. 5); compare also Stokes in the *Revue Celtique*, III. 32, where he says *gnó* meant 'remarkable', and see his edition of O'Donovan's *Cormac*, pp. 81, 86, where *gnó* is interpreted to mean 'derision', at first probably a reference to being made 'conspicuous' in an unfavourable sense, and *gnoe* is cited as meaning 'anything delightful or beautiful', in Irish *cach ségda*, but *segda* is sometimes found to mean stately or majestic. In his edition of *Gorman*, July 26, Stokes translates *gnóda* by 'famous', and refers it to the same origin as O'Clery's *gno* and as Breton *gnou* '*manifeste, évident*', to which I add the Welsh personal name *Gnou-an* from the (Oxford) *Liber Landavensis*, p. 180. But *gnou* will not derive from *gnó* unless this originally represented *gnoŭo-s*, a supposition admissible only in the case of Irish. For *gnou* and *Gnouan* postulate *gnoŭo-s*, a form probably related to *gnó*, while Irish *gnóe* goes a step further and represents *gnoŭ-i̯o-s*. In this group of words the proper names are specially instructive, and we have *gnoŭi̯o-s* in Rawlinson B. 502 as *Gnoe* (fo. 154^{d}, l. 56, 160^{a}, l. 29), and in the Book of Leinster (347^{c}, 370^{b}), in the former of which it interchanges with *Noe*, a far better known form. The name appears to have been brought to Dyfed (Demetia) by the Déssi who came over in the latter half of the third century: it occurs, for instance, in the (Oxford) *Liber Landavensis*, pp. 77, 133, where we have a '*Noe* filius Arthur', but we also find a spelling *Nouy*. Other spellings of the name in that MS. are *Nogui* and *Nougui* (with the spirant *g* usual with *u̯* in Mediæval Welsh). These forms with *u̯* go to prove that the name became known to the Welsh when the Irish pronunciation was *Noŭe* and had not yet dropped the *u̯*; that is to say, if it was a case of borrowing from the Irish, which I assume. The *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, for 1891 (pp. 649–50), and the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, for 1892 (pp. 64, 65), contain six versions of the pedigree of the kings of the Déssi of Dyfed brought together by me. Among them are the following: Rawlinson B. 502, fo. 132^{a}, l. 37, which has '$\bar{m}$ Nee mic Artuir mic Retheoir', where *Nee* is probably an error for *Noe* as on folio 128^{b}, l. 8, and 152^{a}, ll. 47, 55 of that MS. with *Gnoe* as already instanced; Bodleian Laud 610, fo. 100^{a1} 'Noé mic Artuir mic Petuir'; two of the Welsh versions have 'Nowy ap Arth(en) ap Pedyr'; the British Museum MS. Harleian 3859 has '*Nougoy* map Arthur map Petr', where *Nougoy* is apparently a mistake for *Nougóy*; and lastly, Jesus College MS. 20 has '*Nennue*. M. Arthur. M. Peder', where *Nennue* is gibberish for a name which elsewhere in this MS. appears as *Neuue*: see the *Cymmrodor*, VIII, pp. 86 (xii), 84 (viii). To return to *Gno-ia* we have *(g)no* prefixed in the genitive *No-cati* already mentioned: see my *Ogam-inscribed Stones in the Dublin Museum* (Dublin, 1902), pp. 26–8. The second element derives from the stem *catu-* 'a fight or battle'; and the compound *Nō-cati* (implying a derivative stem *Gnō-cati̯o-s*) possibly meant 'one who fights conspicuously, remarkably, famously'. In Rawlinson B. 502, fo. 161^{a}, l. 9, one meets with a kindred genitive *Nu-chada*, implying a nominative *Nu-chad* of the *u* declension compounded of *(g)nū* (for *(g)nō*), and *cath*, *cad*, Welsh *cat*, *cad* 'battle, also a battalion'. Irish *cath*, genitive *catha*, *cada* derives from early *katu-s*, genitive *katos* as in *Ira-cattos* or *Ebi-catos* partly discussed in a paper read by me to the Academy in 1903 and entitled *Studies in Early Irish History*, pp. 2–4. So *Nú-chad* might be interpreted to mean one who fights conspicuously or else one who has a host of

nōvi, nōtum for older *gnōsco, gnōvi, gnōtum*, and as *nōbilis*, originally *gnōbilis* 'distinguishable, known, eminent, noble'. The related Celtic words are many and varied, including among others, Ir. *gnáth* 'known, usual', Welsh *gnaut, gnawd* 'known as usual or customary', Ir. *in-gne* '*intelligentia*', *in-gnaidi* '*intellectus*' (Stokes in Fick's vol. II. 116), Welsh *yngnat, ynad* 'a judge', *an-yngnad, an-ynad* 'unreasonable, ill-tempered', Breton *anat* '*connu, connaissable, évident, notoire, manifeste, public*', Welsh *yn anad* 'above all, especially', *adnabod* (for *ad-gnad-bod*) 'to know, knowledge', Old Welsh 'hep am*gnau*bot' '*sine mente*', which would now have been 'heb am*no*fod', had it been in use: compare Breton *anaout* from *aznaout*.

It is needless to add to the number of these instances, as I have already given some which may be of use for comparison as we go on. Suffice it to say that we have now the data for guessing the import of the patronymic *Uto-noi̯u*; it postulates a nominative *Uto-nōios* meaning 'relating to Uto-nōos, son of Uto-nōos, or a member of the Utonoan family, to which some ancestor called Utonōos had given his name'; and that name may be supposed to have signified 'one who is to be dreaded on account of his skill and penetrating intellect', all suggestive of a reputation coveted by the medicine men of all peoples in all ages.

I have no clear notion what the third vocable was as it was first cut, possibly *pinisari* or *pinisar*, written ᚢᛁᛗᛁᚱᚨᛞᛁ with some kind of *P* made into *R* and ᛁᛋ (=*is*) into ᚺ, that is *h*. Whatever it was, it has been suggested that it may have meant a small plot of ground or marked off area; the whole might accordingly be rendered 'For Iōgos son of Uto(g)nōos a burial place'. He had probably secured it whilst alive, *sibi vivo*, as Latin inscriptions occasionally express it.

Before quitting this part of the country there is a remark or two which I wish to make. Among other things I may mention that fruitful excavations are going on at a place called Gudo, six kilometres below Bellinzona, as you proceed on the right bank of the Ticino towards Locarno. The finds are deposited at Bellinzona, in a museum in the old castle of Monte Bello, whither Dr. Eligio Pometta kindly took me to see them, but at that time I found nothing of inscriptional interest. On a little vase of dark grey or bluish ware there was some

conspicuous fighters under him. In Stokes's *Gorman*, July 30, we have a *Nó-chaire*, whose name is spelt *No-chure* in the Book of Leinster, 354^{c}: this would seem to have meant 'one who is at the head of a famous host'. Possibly we have the same element (*g*)*no* in the name *Nobis, Novis* which figures in the *Liber Landavensis*, pp. 216, 217, 274, 303, 312: compare *Biss-* in the clan name *Hui Bissi* in Rawlinson B. 502, fo. 120^{b}, l. 15.

scratching, which I took to be a recurrent V ornament, together with some other scratchings, in which I failed to recognize any certain letter. What Gudo may finally yield, it is impossible to say: 306 tombs had already been examined there, a number not exceeded in the district except near Giubiasco, where they are said to have been 534. The finds have been described and illustrated in the *Rivista Archeologica* (Como, 1911), in a paper entitled 'La necropoli preromana di Gudo': the author, Dr. G. Baserga, shows that the ancient population of this part of Canton Ticino was a prosperous and wealthy one, and that the quantity of silver, amber, and coral which they used, argues that they lived near an important trade route, which he traces through Locarno on Lago Maggiore, past Bellinzona and up the valley of Mesocco, whence the pass of St. Bernardino was reached, and at length the Rhine, a way in fact leading from Italy to the heart of Switzerland and Germany (pp. 4, 52, 124, *et passim*). This was probably the route which the Celts took when they came down to Mesocco and the strath of the Ticino. When they settled there they do not, judging from the inscriptions, appear to have had close intercommunication with the Lugano district. For setting aside the shorter and more uncertain of the scribbles on the Giubiasco vessels, the lettering too on the helmet as coming probably from another district, and the third word of the Andergia inscription as one that has been tampered with, one can hardly say that what is left is written in the North Etruscan alphabet as it appears around Lugano. There are serious differences, and what mostly strikes one is the manifest influence of Roman writing over that of the Bellinzona group. That is all the easier to explain if an important commercial route from Italy northwards lay through Locarno, the Ticino basin, and the valley of the Moësa in a southern corner of Canton Graubünden.

III

1. (1) Rondineto in the commune of Breccia, near Como. In the Civic Museum at Como various things discovered at Rondineto are preserved, and as many as could be identified were very kindly shown to me by the curator, the Rev. Father Santo Monti. They are to be seen reproduced in the lithographed plates of the Como *Rivista Archeologica*: see more especially the numbers for 1877-9, 1883. Pauli, in his no. 18, has incorporated the readings of eight of them, which he treated with more or less hesitation as (*a*) . . . akụr . . ., (*b*) . . . oụki (or oḷki) . . . .; (*c*) . . . ụklk (*or* ụklk) . . . .; (*d*) . . . tiu . . ., more like

uit, I should say; (*e*) . . . lioiso . . .; (*f*) . . . vas . . .; (*g*) . . . ial . . .; (*h*) tarise. This last of Pauli's I did not succeed in seeing; his reading of . . . *lioiso* . . . is certain: it runs from the right towards the left. So does . . . ouki . . . or . . . olki . . ., the doubt attaches here to the second letter: is it Y or Λ, and does it mean *u* or *l*? Whether you read towards the right or the left the question is the same. Speaking of . . . olki . . . the sequence *olk* sounds very Celtic, witness the Irish name *Olcán*, early *Ulcagnos*, genitive *Ulcagni* in Wales and Cornwall. Lastly, . . . lioiso . . . has already been touched upon at p. 31 above, where *Eli-oiso* has been suggested.

(2) Inside the circle forming the bottom of a little vase, which I failed to identify with anything of Pauli's, I copied, with some hesitation, a short legend reading at first from the right to the left, as follows, on a sort of grey ware:—

ΙϤVΙϤ

ЬЬ

That makes *Piuai Aa*, forming a boustrophedon sequence meaning 'Aa (gives it) to Biua'. Compare *Pivotialui* and *Pivonei* (pp. 8, 20 above) and the *Bodi-beve* on the bilingual stone from Llanwinio, Carmarthenshire. Here *-beve* seems to be the (Latin) genitive feminine, of which name we have the dative feminine in *Pivai* for *Bivai*. In Old Irish the compound occurs as *Buaid-beo* (Stokes's *Oengus*, Nov. 17, and p. 242), which may be Englished 'victory-quick, swift to triumph'. Lastly, *Aa* would be the nominative corresponding to the dative *Aai* in *Aai pala*, p. 5 above.

(3) I must add that I noticed a biggish bit of red ware numbered 'Rondineto 372', with a graffito which I was unable to make out. It seems to run from right to left, somewhat like this ϒϒMHΙϤ. The third letter I do not recognize: it somewhat resembles H, but the short downward bar is obliquely drawn without meeting, however, the long perpendicular of the H. Then comes what seems to be an M conjoint with Y, and that joins the V, the last limb of which is gone where the ware breaks off. A straight line forms the upper boundary of the lettering.

Such are some of the things found at Rondineto. They do not prove rich, epigraphically speaking, but they show nothing to discourage the supposition that they are Celtic. On the contrary I have pointed out two or three things which, so far as they go, are favourable to that conjecture.

2. (1) Villa del Soldo belonging to the Conte Turati, and situated near Alzate-Brianza. To get there my daughter and I started from

Como by rail on the way to Lecco, but when we had travelled about ten miles we alighted at a station called Brenna-Alzate and walked to Alzate, a distance of about a mile, and near that village we entered the grounds of the Soldo. We were shown over the spacious gardens of the Conte Turati, and saw a grave, reconstructed years ago, where we expected to find an inscribed vase. The reconstruction was carried out under the eye of Dr. Castelfranco of Milan, Inspector of Ancient Monuments. We discovered that the vessel was missing,[1] and I have not been able to consult a copy of that savant's own account of the finds made near the spot in 1878. From Pauli's remarks, however, on his no. 19, which represents the inscription, and from Giussani's description in his *Tesserete*, pp. 24, 25, I find that it read from left to right VIXILIOS, that is, *Vitilios*, in North Etruscan characters, scratched on the outside of the wall of a cup of reddish ware. With it were found, it appears, a fibula *a doppio vermiglione*, a bronze piece of money, and a small silver coin of the type of the hemidrachma of Marseilles, having, on the obverse, a barbarous head of Diana turned to the right and a lion on the reverse surmounted by the inscription RIKO.

The next question is what is to be made of the name *Vitilios*. As usual, more than one identification is possible. The first is with names cited by Holder, such as *Vitullus*, *Vitullius* and *Vitullia*, *Vituriga* and the like, not to mention later forms, such as Welsh *Guid-gen* and *Gwydion*. These imply an early form, beginning with *uet-*; but it may have been *vid-*, which would give us a still wider field to choose from. It is hardly worth our while to discuss them, as we seem to have a clear case of identity with a name supplied by Holder ready made. This is *Vintilius* for Celtic *Vintilio-s*, genitive *Vintili*, from Langres in France (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 5870), and *Vintelius* from St. Maurice in the Swiss Canton of Valais. The suppression of the *n* in the spelling *Vitilios* takes place in the same way as in the Latin *Quintus* which appears as *Kuitos* and in *Quintae* which appears as *Kuites* in the well-known Brionna inscription, preserved at Novara. The phonological process by which the *n* would seem to have been silenced was the spending of it in the nasalization of the vowel preceding, or else in assimilating the nasal to the surd following as in Goidelic:

[1] The Count, who was then at Milan, has kindly written to me that the inscribed vessel had been taken away for safety by a member of the family, but that at the moment he could not tell me in which of its residences it had been deposited. Now recently the Count has lent me Professor Castelfranco's paper, which was, I find, published in the *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana* (Anno V, num. 1 & 2, 1899). I cannot find the volume in Oxford.

perhaps both processes were combined. In any case we have a parallel spelling on Goidelic ground in the Kynfic (Glamorgan) bilingual where *Pop . . .* stands for *Pompeius*, or rather for the genitive *Pomp*[*ei*], and the Latin word *fecerunt* inscribed FECERVT in an ancient post-Roman epitaph at St. Ninian's in Galloway.

(2) In despair we turned to go away, but it occurred to me at the gate to ask the porter's wife to bring some water and a rag to clean the earthenware vessels at the grave. She did so, and I copied the only scribble I found, and never gave it a thought till now. On scrutinizing my scrap-book I am astonished to find that it shows most of the elements of the name *Vi(n)tilios* as ()ꓤIXIV, which probably means *Vi(n)tilo*. This can hardly be accidental, or due to an excited imagination on my part. The scratching is very crude, and runs, be it observed, from right to left, and not in the same direction as the other. As regards the O, I ought to say that I could only see the disjointed sides of that letter, somewhat like an open parenthesis ( ); but it may possibly be IS, making *Vitilis*. It will have to be looked up again; in fact I hope that Signor Giussani will have it photographed and described in his *Rivista Archeologica*.

The final O, if that proves to be the correct reading, may represent the ending of the nominative of the *o* declension with the *s* elided, that is *Vi(n)tilo-s*; but it may be the ending of a nominative of the *n* declension. In any case the names *Vi(n)tilo* and *Vi(n)tilio-s* belonged, in all probability, to the same family, and the latter, written as it is towards the right, is presumably of later date than the other. The origin of these names is obscure, but they may be related to that of 'Mars *Vintius*', whence the place-names *Vence*, and the Col de *Vence* behind Nice. In a votive inscription at Hauteville, in the dep. of Haute-Savoie, the god is styled *Vintius Augustus*; in the neighbourhood of Seyssel, in the dep. of Ain, one inscription calls him *Vintius Augustus Pollux*, and another *Deus Vintius Pollux*, whence another Vence, which there becomes *Vens* or *Vance* (*C. I. L.*, XII. 3, 2561, 2562). It is difficult to sever from the god's name the Welsh *gwynt*, Breton *guent* 'wind', Latin *ventus*, Eng. *wind*: Irish has words from the same root, such as *feth* 'air, breeze'. A god identified with, or compared to, the wind, may be supposed to have had as his characteristics swiftness, force, and capricious destructiveness. Both the names here in question may be regarded as diminutives of that of the god.

(3) Pauli's no. 20 gives bits of writing on potsherds found at ALZATE. He transcribes them as *u*, *tu* (towards the left), *tu* (towards the right), and *K*ʌʌ. They are, as far as I can see, of little use for identifying the language to which they belonged.

3. Civiglio, near Como, the precise place being an ancient necropolis called Visigna. In 1878 the then inspector of ancient monuments, the late Cav. Vincenzo Barelli, discovered a tomb about 1^{m} 20 below the surface of the ground, containing six vases of clay fashioned with the lathe, and among them a beaker with a reversed cone. It was made of black earthenware, varnished with transparent black stuff, and bearing a cross beneath the base and two stags, also a scratched inscription in the North Etruscan alphabet, reading 𐌀𐌋𐌉𐌔, that is *Alios*. The finds are now in the Civic Museum at Como: see Giussani's *Tesserete*, p. 26.

Alios as a proper name is difficult to explain. One is reminded of the Irish verb *alim*, *ailim*, *oilim* 'I nurse or nourish, I bring up or educate'. If this be its origin it may mean either 'one who nourishes, a foster parent', or 'one who is nursed, a foster child'. Compare *Alt*, genitive *Ailt*, in the Bk. of Leinster, 350^{g}, from the passive participle *alto-s* 'nursed, nourished, reared'. The name *Ailill* (*Elill*) or *Oilill* mentioned in my paper on the *C. Inscriptions of Gaul*, p. 77, would seem a sort of diminutive of *Alios*, but the declension offers difficulties.[1] See Holder's list of names ending in *-ello-s*, *-ellā*, *-illo-s*, *-illā*.

In point of form there is another possibility which is more attractive, namely, to equate the word bodily with the *alios* postulated by the Irish *aile*, later spelling *eile* 'other', of the same origin as Latin *alius*. In that case the name would have to be interpreted somewhat like *Secundus* in Latin inscriptions, such as SECVNDVS F(ecit), or simply SECVNDVS, on pots and pans (*C. I. L.*, VII. 1334. 50, 1336. 1007–1016), not to mention SECVNDILLI M(anu) 1336. 1003, the ending of which reminds one of OLILLVS. In either case *Alios* could only belong to a Celtic language which, unlike Gaulish, did not reduce *Alio* into *allo*, as in *Allo-brox*, *Allo-broges*, *Gallo-s* (from *Galio-s*) and plural *Galli*, from *galā*, Irish and Welsh *gal* 'pain, passion, bravery'. The name *Galli* is said to be found attested as early as almost the beginning of the fourth century before Christ: see Holder, s.vv. *Galli* and *Gallia*. The Brythonic and Gaulish word *Gallos*, or else the Latin *Gallus*, was borrowed into Irish to yield *Gall*, meaning

[1] In that passage for the words 'Ailioll, which in an older form was Oilill' read 'Ailill, which in another form was Oilill'. I do not exactly know where O'Curry found *Oilioll* which he gives *passim* in his *Lectures on the MS. Materials of Ancient Irish History*, but see Windisch's *Táin B. C.*, p. 303. The Latin nominative *Olillus* (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 1670) excludes the *i* declension, while the usual Irish forms *Ailill* or *Oilill* postulate it; but on the other hand *Ailello* (*Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, II. 263, 265, 286) is a genitive of the *u* declension. It is, however, the *o* declension that I should have expected throughout, and the Latin spelling *Olillus* may have belonged to it and not to the *u* declension.

'a Gaul, later any stranger, Norse or English', but the native Irish form remained *Gaile*, genitive *Gaili*. See Windisch's notes to his edition of the *Táin*, pp. 422, 423, where he cites *Gaile* as the equivalent of *Calatin*, better *Galatin*, a word borrowed by the Irish from the Brythonic *Galatini* postulated by the Welsh *Galedin* in 'Arllechwedd Galedin', to wit, 'the Slope of Galedin', meaning the sea-board of England from the Berkshire Ridgeway and the hills connected with it to the English Channel,[1] covering territory conquered by the Belgae. See in 'the Iolo MSS.' (p. 86), a tract which Iolo gives one to understand to have been copied by him from a book of a Mr. Cobb, of Cardiff, which is not known to exist any longer.

There is a third possible explanation which fits the interpretation better than Irish *aile* 'other', namely, to suppose it to have had the sense of Welsh *eil*, *ail* 'second', which comes nearer in meaning to Latin *Secundus*. In point of form it is more difficult to fit in: for Welsh as a Brythonic dialect had *alio-* reduced to *allo-* as in Gaulish, and in the Greek ἄλλο-ς 'other'. Witness such compounds as *all-tud* 'one of another nation, an alien', *all-waith* 'another time, a second year'. To make the kindred form *eil*, *ail* help to explain *Alio-s* we should have to suppose the latter to have been pronounced *Alío-s* or *Alío-s*, which would give in Welsh *eilyđ*. Davies's Welsh-Latin Dictionary produces evidence that *eilyđ* meant 'second'. It is possible that *eil* with the same sense was inferred from *eilyđ*; but on the whole I am more inclined to think that *eil*[2] comes from a base like the

[1] The translation is given at pp. 476, 477, but the translator met here with an *am* of the use of which he had no notion, though it is current in parts of Wales to this day. For instance his no. 14 should run thus: 'The Slope of the *Galatini* from that to the boundaries of Devon and *with* the boundaries of Somerset *between* it and Argoed Calchfynydd.'

[2] *Eil* is found placed in front of proper names where one would otherwise expect *vab* or *ab* 'son': thus *Morvran eil Tegit* 'Morvran son of Tegid', meaning as it were 'M. a second Tegid, or M. a second form of Tegid'. Sometimes the words coalesce as in the name of the swimmer in the 'Mabinogi of Math', *Dylan Eilton* 'D. son of the billow', also *Dylan eil Mor* 'D. son of the sea' (Evans's *Geiriadur*, s.v. *ail*; Skene's *F. Anc. Books of Wales*, II. ('Taliessin', p. 142). Another remarkable instance is *Eilewyd* 'a minstrel', literally 'a second *Ewyđ*' (ibid. 'Taliessin', pp. 131, 145), *Ewyđ* or *Euuyd* being the Welsh form of Gaulish *Ogmios* (pronounced *Ogmíos* or *Ogmío-s*), the name of the god of eloquence in ancient Gaul; see Holder's quotation of Lucian's quaint story of the Gaulish Hercules; and for the phonology of the names see my note in the paper on *The Coligny Calendar*, p. 26. Similarly *Eilwyon* 'a minstrel or musician' is possibly to be interpreted as originally *eil-Wion* 'or a second Gwion' in reference to the well known magician of the Story of Taliessin: see Skene, ibid., p. 130, where Gwion is referred to by name, and Pughe's *Dictionary*, s. v. *Eilwy*, which is supplied as the singular of *Eilwyon* on the supposition that the

ali of the Latin *ali-quis*, and old Latin *ali-uta* 'otherwise', a base distinct at any rate from, but related to, that of *alio-s*, Welsh *all-* 'other'.

4. Cernusco Asinario, the name of which is in process of change into Cernusco al Naviglio, is a place south of the Lago di Lecco, the south-east arm of the Lake of Como. There, according to Pauli, a vessel (*olla*) had been found with an inscription (his no. 22) reading from left to right in the North Etruscan alphabet *Ritukalos*. His no. 23 mentions an *olla* of the same description found in the same place and bearing another inscription reading in the same direction *Tiusiuilios*. I understand Pauli to say that these two inscriptions are on two vessels, and I notice that Giussani has understood him in the same way (*Tesserete*, p. 33); but when I went to the Sforzesco Museum at Milan, where I expected to find those inscriptions, I was given to understand that the two are on one and the same vessel, and that it is not in the Sforzesco. Inquiries were made on my behalf, but they have so far elicited no information.

(1) I did not learn that the two inscriptions stood in any special relation to one another: so they have to be taken separately. 𐌗𐌉𐌖𐌔𐌉𐌅𐌉𐌋𐌉𐌏𐌔, that is *Tiusiuilios*, is preceded, according to Pauli, by something which I cannot identify: it looks somewhat like 𐌙𐌇, that is *ch*, which, needless to say, can hardly be regarded as the real reading, as the whole would make CHTIVSIVILIOS, with the two first letters Latin, while Etruscan letters follow. Discarding the former, we have *Tiusiuilios*, which Holder produces in two forms without perceiving that they probably represent only a single one. He gives *Tiusiulos* and s.v. *Tiu* the two words *Tiu Sivilios*, a division which is possibly correct. At all events, his list shows a *Tiva F(ecit)* from the Rheims Museum (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 10006. 164); for *Sivilios* compare his *Seuvo*, better perhaps *Seuuo* or *Sevvo*, in SEVVO FECIT, occurring in various places in France; also *Sivi* implying a nominative *Sivios*, *Siviavus* (*Siviaus*), or *Siuuiavus*, and lastly *Sivella* suggesting a masculine *Sivellos* and a derivative *Sivell-io-s*, which would practically fit here, as *Siuilio-s* may represent *Siuell-io-s* and mean 'belonging to a father (or family) of the name of *Siuillo-s*'. The whole would mean 'Tiu son of Siuillos'. But the *Itius Ivilios* cited by Holder from Poggi would be preferable, if that reading could be established.

(2) According to Pauli (no. 22) the other name reads

𐌃𐌉𐌗𐌅𐌊𐌓𐌋𐌏𐌓

latter was an *-on* plural, as Cynðelw in the twelfth century took it be: see the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, I. 220ª.

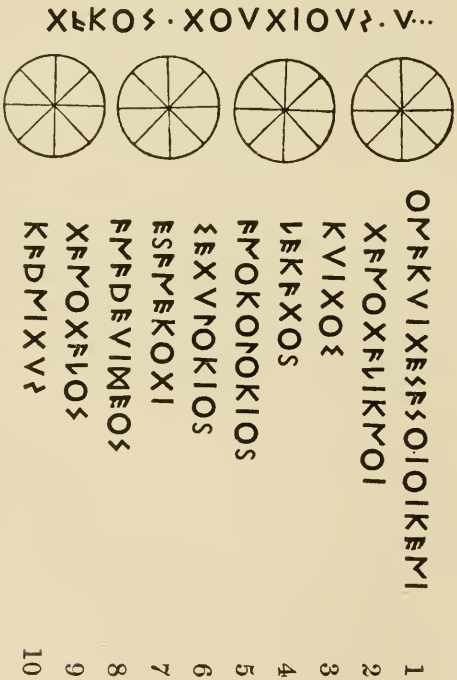
That is *Ritukalos*, which may be supposed to stand either for *Ritu-gallos* or *Ritu-galos*. The former would admit of being interpreted 'a courier Gaul, a *Gallus* who was a runner'. Concerning *Ritu* see my remarks on PITOY in *The Celtic Inscr. of Gaul*, pp. 19, 20. Both in form and interpretation *Ritugallo-s* would argue an origin in Gaulish, not in any Celtic idiom more closely akin with Goidelic. On the other hand, *Ritugalo-s* might be supposed to derive its second element direct from the early Celtic feminine *galā* 'passion, valour'. The compound as a whole would probably have the possessive sense of 'One who has both the qualification of a runner and the prowess of a brave man'. In Goidelic the feminine would remain unchanged, even when the compound formed the name of a man and not of a woman. Witness such Irish names as *Art-gal*, genitive *Art-gaile*, similarly *Dun-gal*, *Dun-gaile*, and the like; whereas, if we may judge from such instances as Λαβροδιος, Gaulish gave the feminine compound a masculine form in the case of a man. See the notes on *Labrodiios* in the Academy paper on the *Celtic Inscr. of Gaul*, pp. 32–4.

5. Milan, near which was found an earthenware vessel with an inscription, reading from right to left the abbreviation 𐌊𐌉𐌅𐌗𐌄𐌎, that is *Setupk*. It forms Pauli's no. 24, and in the fifties of the last century, when Mommsen was publishing his 'Nordetruskische Alphabete' in the *Mitteilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, the earthenware was in the possession of a Signor Biondelli, with whom he seems to have had a correspondence as to the genuineness of the lettering. I expected to find it in the Sforzesco Museum in Milan, but I failed to discover any clue to its whereabouts. The collections of antiquities there have, I am told, been shifted repeatedly, and there is no adequate catalogue to help a search.

In point of nomenclature Setupk adds nothing new except the form of the abbreviation. For we have it in full on the Briona stone, now at Novara, to wit, as *Setupokios*. I may add in passing that on my way back from Switzerland last April I made a point of turning aside to visit Bar-le-Duc in order to see the moulage of the gold ring found in the neighbourhood of Thiaucourt in the eighties, and lost sight of since. Thanks to the kind help of M. Jules Baudot, I was enabled to trace the cast to the museum there, and to examine it. The legend ends with what appears to be a man's name, *Nappisetu*, in the nominative case, either for *Nappisetus* of the *u* declension or *Nappisetu* of the *n* declension. The first element in the compound occurs in *Neb* (for older *Nep*) in *Neb mab kaŭ* 'Neb son of Caw' in the story of Kulhwch and Olwen: see Evans's 'White Book' *Mabinogion*, p. 231[b], and the Oxford 'Red Book' edition, p. 107. The Welsh *Neb*

or *Nep* seems to find its equivalent in the *nech* of the Irish *Nechadan*, gen. *Nechadain*, Bk. of Leinster, 369[e]. Some account of the inscription will be found in my paper on the *C. Inscr. of France and Italy*, pp. 57–9: the preferable rendering seems to be that of Stokes—'Nappisetu (gave this) to Adiantunnena (daughter) of Exvertinios'.

6. Briona, near Novara. The stone was found in cutting down a wood on land belonging to Briona; it is now built into the wall of a cloistered court of the Cathedral at Novara, with a goodly collection of other inscriptions. The surface measures 1[m] 26 by 0[m] 90, and the material of the stone is said to be gneiss. The inscription forms Pauli's no. 25, and an account of it was printed in my paper on *The Celtic Inscr. of France and Italy*, pp. 59–65. I went to see it again last April, and I think that I can now improve on my former reading at two points in the text. My last version is as follows:—



Now as to the top line, I am no longer inclined to think any letter or letters lost to the left of the X; so I read as before to the second O (inclusive) of TOVXIO, but then what I next find is VS, that is VS, followed by a point with an accidental scratch proceeding from it upwards, somewhat like this ⟍ slanting towards the left.

Then comes a V which, as it stands, does not appear to have been closed at the bottom; and the last traces of a letter suggested to me a broken I, after which we come to the breakage; but the I is, I fear, too doubtful to count upon.

The other time I guessed the first downward line to begin with IMA of which the N and the A stand; but the I and the N occur on a spot which it was difficult to cut on account of the spar embedded there; and, after careful scrutiny, I have come to the conclusion that the first letter is not I but an O with rather an untidy outline, especially on the right side, due of course to the spar which interfered with the punching, as it did also in the case of the N. All three letters are near the edge of the stone, but the original edge is there till you pass beyond the O, and get to the beginning of the breakage at the right-hand top corner of the stone. The N of ONA stands opposite the X beginning the second downward line; so the O beginning the first line, stands somewhat nearer the fourth wheel than the X of the second line does.

There is nothing remarkable about the lettering, except the variety of forms of the symbol for S, which is practically either that or Ƨ. It is always prolonged as if the hooks had been straightened out, or else consists of three straight lines, ⸗, also reversed into ⸗, liable to appear as a sigma wriggle ⸗, hard to distinguish in some inscriptions from a rough kind of I. There is in line 8 an instance of the symbol ⋈, which Pauli transliterated as *ś*; but in our inscriptions it does not seem to indicate any sound other than that of the ordinary *s*.

The names and the spelling call for some remarks: in the first place I am inclined to treat the first name as *Tagos*, as in *Ito-tagos* and *Prasu-tagos* mentioned in my other paper, rather than *Dagos* 'good': compare the ⸗ on p. 52 below. *Toutious* has *ou* for the *u* sound in its second syllable, as in inscriptions written in Greek characters; but what about the previous *ou*? According to the Vaison inscription (loc. cit. p. 13, Avignon 1), the word was τοουτιους, that is *toutius*. So one gathers that there is a blunder in the Briona spelling, or else a different pronunciation implied. What the term exactly meant is not certain, but Stokes renders it magistrate. What followed it is impossible to make out: it seems to begin with V, but what word it began one cannot tell. If my old suggestion that the four circles mean chariot wheels should prove tenable, one would naturally guess that the *v* word was the name of a second person, say wife, son, or brother, interred with the great man commemorated in the first place.

The first of the downward lines apparently begins with ONA, which occurs in ONNA-KOYI 'and Onna's' in a Cavaillon inscription where *Onna* is a genitive feminine for an earlier *Onnās* (loc. cit., pp. 9–11). But here *On(n)a* is probably to be taken as forming a hybrid compound with KVITES, that is to say *Kuintes*, the later genitive singular feminine of *Quinta* treated as *Celtic*, the whole name of the woman being *On(n)a-kuinta*. As *Quinta* was declined in a Celtic way it seems to have been regarded as Celtic, so that the composition with a real Celtic vocable, or one held to be such, can have presented no difficulty. In my other paper I took *asoioi* to mean grandsons, but I am now inclined to regard 'sons' as the more exact meaning. Then we have at the end the word KENI, which, if *k* here does not mean *g*, might be compared with Irish *cenél* 'Geschlecht', Welsh *cenetl*, Modern *cenedl*, 'race, nation, kind, gender', Cornish *kinethel* glossing Latin *generatio*. If, on the other hand, *keni* is to be interpreted as *geni*, it would recall the Old Irish *gein* 'begettal, procreation, birth'. What we want is a dative or instrumental in *i*. If we have such a case in *keni* or *geni*, the rendering of the first and second downward lines will be—'On(n)aquinta's sons, offspring of Dan(n)otalos', that is, in point of generation = begettal, procreation, *Erzeugung*. The lady had sons by two fathers, and the first set were *Dan(n)otalicnoi*, that is, each was a 'little Dannotalos', an edition, so to say, of Dannotalos through his having begotten him. For, etymologically speaking, a *Dannotali-cno-s* is a diminutive of *Dannotalo-s*. In Irish *-i-cno-* has been reduced to *-īn*, and *-i-cn-io-* to *-īne*, as in *Féchín* and *Féchíne*, forms of the name of St. Féchín of Fore: *-ín* is a very living termination in Modern Irish, and therefore in Anglo-Irish likewise. It is remarkable that *gein* is the word used in reference to the births of Étáin in the Book of the Dun, fo. 129[a] (to be also found printed in Windisch's *Irische Texte*, p. 131), as follows:—'*Di bliadain déc ar mili trá o*

[1] There is a difficulty as to the declension of this word, which is feminine in Modern Irish: see Dinneen's *Irish Dictionary*, where he gives it the two forms *gein* and *gin*, genitive *gine*, fem., and the meanings of 'offspring, child; conception; embryo; a swan'. The feminine gender can readily be explained from the ancient forms, though they were neuter, as will be seen on consulting Pedersen's *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, II. 112, Thurneysen, I. 205, and Ascoli's *Codice Irlandese dell' Ambrosiana*, II, p. ccccl v. The chief cases occurring are nom. and acc. *gein*, genitive *gene*, *geine*, dative *genim*, *geinim*. Later instances of the dative have been kindly given me by Prof. Kuno Meyer in the forms *geinibh* and *geiniv*. It is possible in the case of *keni* = *geni* that an early confusion of declension had taken place with the *geno-s*, genitive *geni*, of compound names such as *Camulo-geno-s* 'offspring of Camulos', and Welsh *Morien* from *Mori-geno-s* 'son of the sea'. The genitive and locative must have both been *geni* as *genos* belonged to the *o* declension.

gein tuissech Etaini o Ailill cosangein ndedenach o Étur', which may be rendered—'There were, then, one thousand and twelve years from the first begetting of Étáin through Ailill to the last begetting (of her) through Étar.' This, though hardly in harmony with certain features of the story of Étáin, as we have it, sounds characteristic of peoples, which, like the other nations of Aryan origin, reckoned their descent through the father rather than through the mother.

The second and third lines read *Kuitos* and *Lekatos*, which are *Quintus* and *Legatus* borrowed from Latin, but whether they represented one or two persons it is not easy to tell; in other terms, was *Legatos* a man's name or simply a common noun? Stokes treated the two words as meaning 'Quintos the legate'. The non-appearance of the *n* of Quintos in the spelling has already been noticed on pp. 40, 48 above. Line 5 consists of *Anokopokios*, which seems to represent *Andocobogios*, but it has usually been treated as *Andocombogios*, supposed to be established by coins of the Carnutes of ancient France and Cæsar's text II. 3. 1. But the longest spelling supplied by the coins seems to be ANDOCOMBO, while as to Cæsar, *Andecombogium* is adopted by Holder and *Andebrogium* by Meusel. Evans's *Coins of the ancient Britons*, pp. 216–20, pl. V. 4–6, yields only *ANDOCO*, so the author suggests *Andocomius*. Compare, however, the Latin genitives *Verco*[*m*]*bogionis* and *Vercombogi* from Duna Bogdány in Hungary and St. Johann am Pressen near Hüttenberg (*C. I. L.*, III. 4732, 13389, 15205[i]). These forms start with **Combogio-s* (also **Comboio-s*), which is partly derived from **bogio-s*, and that is akin with a simpler form **bāgā*, fem., whence Irish *bág*, fem., 'battle' and *bágim* 'I contend'. So *Combogio-s* probably meant one who was 'a brave combatant'. The meaning of *ando-* or *ande-* is not ascertained, but Stokes guessed it to have meant 'against'; thus *Ando-combogios* may perhaps have signified an 'opposing champion'. But here one is more interested in the spelling; for according to the analogy of our inscriptions in the North Etruscan alphabet, with *n* for *nn*=*nd*, the spelling to be expected should have been *Anokomokios*. If the inscriber has not made a slip *Anokopokios* represents *Andocobogios*, with *co-* as the prefix which is usually *com-*. The spelling of the next name *Setu-pokios* offers no difficulty as it seems to represent *Setu-bogios*, with *setu*, which is related probably to Ir. *sith* 'long', used as an intensive prefix (Stokes in Fick, II. 294); so *Setu-bogios* should mean 'Ever-combating, long in the conflict'—or the like; and we seem to have it in *Nappisetu*, for which see p. 45: see also nom. *Setus*, genitive *Seti*, cited by Holder, who fails to convince us when he makes it a Gaulish pronunciation of Latin *Sextus*.

As regards line 7, I am inclined to stand by my suggestion that *Esanekoti* is to be regarded as representing Essandekotti, for *Ecsandecottii*, not the genitive singular of the father's name *Essandecottos*, but the nominative plural meaning Essandecottians, in the sense of sons of Essandecottos, which in spite of the *-oi* of *Dan(n)otalicnoi*, yields us a parallel to it in point of syntax. Then we come to *Anarevišcos*, which I am now convinced should be left as *Anarevisсos* or, perhaps, *Anarevisseos*, with the prefix *an* usually meaning in personal names 'very', as in *Anarekartoṣ*: see Danielsson, p. 22, where he corrects Holder's *Anarekartoi*. *Are-karto-s* would probably mean 'strong, powerful, mighty', and *An-arekartos* 'very powerful'. So *An-arevisseos* probably meant 'very wise or very highly possessed of knowledge'. Lastly, *Tanotalos* is well known to stand for *Dannotalo-s*, of which the etymological meaning is uncertain, though the late M. d'Arbois de Jubainville interpreted it as 'front hardi.'

The whole inscription may be rendered thus: 'Tagos the Magistrate (and) V . . .: On(n)aquinta's sons, begotten of Dan(n)otalos, (to wit) Quintos the Legate, Andocobogios, (and) Setubogios, (also her) sons by Ecsandecottos, (to wit), Anarevisseos, (and) Dan(n)otalos, built a cairn over them.'

7. Levo, in Chignolo Verbano, on the hill side behind Stresa, on the western side of Lago Maggiore. Here a group of five inscriptions were discovered in the course of clearing room for the foundations of the small Hotel Levo in the year 1887. They were on tombstones, two in Latin and three in Celtic, with only one commemorating a man. Three of the stones have been acquired by the museum at Turin; the other two are still at Levo, where they stand fastened to the southern wall of the building to which I have referred, and to which the term hotel seems to be still applied. To get to Levo, the least troublesome way is to take the electric train which goes up the Mottarone from Stresa and step out at the station called Ginese-Levo. You then descend into a level road, which you follow in a northern direction for about a quarter of an hour. You overlook the lake, together with the Borromean Isles, and the view the whole time is a dream of beauty. At the end of the short walk you are at Levo, which consists of some half-dozen houses. You ask for the so-called hotel, which is a somewhat bigger building than the others, though in April it presented the appearance of a deserted public-house.

(1) The first stone, still at Levo, has its top rounded, and the dimensions of its surface are 1^{m} 18 by 1^{m} 40, as given by Ferrero in the *Atti della Società di Archeologia e Belle Arti per la Provincia di*

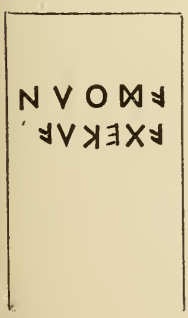
Torino, VII. 56-60. The inscription consists of two short lines, reading across the face of the stone from left to right as follows :—

NAMV
ESOPNIO

That is *Namu Esopnio*, with only two, or at most three, of the letters of the Etruscan type, namely, the A, the P, and in some degree the E. The V has its second line nearly vertical and parallel with the edge to which it is close. Both the lines are bounded by straight grooves as on so many others of these inscribed stones.

The name *Namu* is also found as *Namo*, and among the instances cited by Holder is its dative *Namuni*, from Bieno, in the same region. That is, it is of the *n* declension and common gender, but here it is a man's name, derived from a simpler form *namo-s* or *Namo-s*, which is possibly to be identified with Welsh *naf*, applied in Mod. Welsh to the Almighty, but supposed to mean 'a lord, *dominus*', and possibly of the same origin as Greek *νέμω* 'I deal out, distribute, dispense'. In that case such a name as *Nammo* can hardly be connected with *Namu*. The other vocable, *Esopnio* stands for an older *Esopnio-s* = *Ecsobnio-s* from *Ecs-obno-s*, which meant 'without fear, *sans peur*', in Old Irish *es-omun*, Welsh *eh-ofyn*, whence the dialectical forms *ech-on*, *ë-on*, *ewn*. The simple noun was *obno-*, in Ir. *omun*, Welsh *ofn* 'fear'. The whole meant 'Namu son of Ecsobnos', and here we have the termination *-io-s*, and not the *-ālo-s* on one of these five stones and usual in the Lugano district. For other instances of the patronymic see Holder, s.vv. *Exobnus*, *Exsobnus*, *Exsonius*. Lastly, an article made of iron was found in the grave, to wit, the iron head of a lance.

(2) Another of the Levo stones, now in the museum at Turin, reads across the face of the slab near the top from left to right, but upside down. It measures $2^{m}20$ by $0^{m}60$. The only reason for cutting the letters upside down seems to be that the inscriber found it more convenient when the stone was lying on the floor to face it from behind the narrower end which was going to be the top when the stone had been fixed in the ground. It was too long for him to work from the wider end unless he went on his knees on the stone, or else did his inscribing seated beside the stone. Probably unskilled in the work, he preferred to take the position near the narrow end, forgetting that his legend would be upside down, as in the margin. Where the legend was placed the surface had been slightly smoothed,



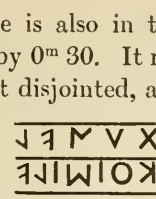
but a little distance lower it was left in a rough unlevelled state, as that part of the stone was to be hidden in the ground.

The letters make *Atekua Asoun* . . of which the last letter remaining seemed to me to make an M with the lower half of its last limb gone owing to a slight damage to which the edge had been subjected some time or other. However I should not know what to make of an *m*, and I prefer thinking, on the whole, that Danielsson (loc. cit., p. 27) is right in treating the imperfect lettering as meant for NI, as suggested by Ferrero in the *Atti* mentioned above, pp. 56 *et seq.* Both times the *u* is given the form Λ, or V upside down, as in the Etruscan alphabet of Este, and in some inscriptions from Gurina in Obergailthal in Carinthia: see Pauli, pp. 51–3, and nos. 92, 93. There is one other point to be mentioned here, namely, that the shape of the initial A of the second line reminds one decidedly of the first A of the Briona inscription, p. 46 above, that is the Ꞟ of *Tagos*, resembling a Roman F upside down.

We have the name *Atekua* written ATIICVA in the finds at Ornavasso, p. 60 below. It is the Celtic *q*-form corresponding to the *p*-Celtic, that is Gaulish, *Atepa*, of which Holder cites two instances. The corresponding masculine should be *Atepo-s*, of which we have evidence in the derivatives *Atepius*, *Atepilla*, *Atepilos*, also shortened *Atpillos*, *Atpilos*; but *Atepos* would seem to have given way to *Atepo* of the *n* declension which is found in the Latin genitive as *Ateponis*, dative *Ateponi*: see Holder's instances. They are of a hypocoristic origin, based on such compounds as *Atepomāros* and *Ateporīx*. We come now to the patronymic, which, if we follow Ferrero and Danielsson, must be treated as *Aśouni* and regarded as all that was written, but it is highly probable that the whole word was *Aśounia*, a feminine adjective qualifying *Atekua*. The leaving out of the final *a* occurs also in the next inscription to be mentioned, and we may compare *Valaunal* for *Valaunali* on the Mesocco stone, p. 32 above. In *Aśounia* the syllable *as* may represent, according to the analogy of others of these inscriptions, a fuller writing *aks*, *acs*, or *ax*, and the patronymic would have been *Axiounia*, meaning the 'Axiounian or daughter of Axiounos', a name which occurs as a Latin dative *Axiouno* in a Nîmes inscription (*C. I. L.*, XII. 3215). Our instance is shortened one syllable, as is the case with a kindred form on a Latin monument at Caluso, between Turin and Ivrea, which yields the dative masculine *Asonio* and the dative feminine *Asoniae* thrice: see *C. I. L.*, V. 6902, and Danielsson, loc. cit., p. 28.

This Levo legend means nothing more or less than this: 'Atekụa daughter of Aśounos', for an earlier *Axiounos*.

(3) The next Levo stone is also in the Antiquarian Museum at Turin, and measures 1^{m} 25 by 0^{m} 30. It reads from right to left, with the M upside down, but not disjointed, as follows:—



That is *Koimila Tunal*; for Danielsson (p. 29) is certainly right in reading upwards, which he often finds to be necessary in Etruscan inscriptions: see the Mesocco stone, p. 33 above. But I cannot follow him when he divides the whole into *Koimi Latunal(i)*: I prefer abiding by the inscriber's division of the words, and reading in the nominative case, *Koimila Tunal(a)*. From an adjective *koimo-s* Irish got its old form *cóim*, *cóem* 'pretty, lovely', in Mod. spelling, *caomh* 'mild, gentle, fair', Welsh *cu* 'dear', Cornish *cuf*, *cueff*, Breton *cuff*, *cunff*, *kûñ*. The word enters frequently into the composition of proper names of persons, especially in Cornish and Breton; also in Irish, which has, for instance, a *Coemell*, genitive *Caimill* (Book of Leinster, fo. 350^{a}, 370^{b}). This word represents an early *Coimillo-s*, *Coimilli*, and our *Coimila* stands for *Coimilla* with *ll*, and in fact it occurs exactly in a more common Irish feminine *Cóimell* (fo. 312^{b}), *Coemell* (fo. 372^{a}). In the latter place we have a whole group of 'lovely ones', including *Coemell* and her son *Coemgen*, that is St. *Kevin* of Glendalough: compare Stokes's *Oengus*, pp. 144, 145 (note to June 3).

We come now to *Tunal*, which I should complete as *Tunala*, standing perhaps for *Dunnālā*. The whole would mean 'Coimilla, daughter of Dun(n)os', and the latter name should be identical with the *Dunno-s* implied by *Dunnius*, on which see Holder, I. 1374. Compare the (Latin) genitive *Dunnonis* in an inscription with *Suricae Dunnonis f(iliae)* found at Castelseprio, hard by Milan (*C. I. L.*, V. 5618), and a *Dunonis* in one reading *C. Juncus Dunonis f(ilius)* from Valperga, which drains into the Orco that joins the Po near Chivasso (ib. 6935): the *nn* is probably right in these forms with *u*. There are others with *o*, such as *Donnos*, appearing in Latin as *Donnus*, genitive *Donni*, as on the Segusian Arch at Susa (*C. I. L.*, V. 7231). Compare *regis Donni f(ilius)*, dating from the end of the first century B.C., and others from Como and Modena, not to mention the *Donnus* of Gaulish silver coins. Here may also be mentioned a Latin genitive *Dononis* in an inscription with *Magiomarus Dononis f(ilius)* found at Diexerberg, near Völkermarkt, in Carinthia (*C. I. L.*, III. 11579): see these and allied names in Holder's first volume. It is not improbable that the name was one and the same, whether written with *u* or *o*, *n* or *nn*.

This inscription, as Danielsson (loc. cit., p. 31) clearly saw, is parallel to the Mesocco one, both in reading upwards and in having the vowel of the case ending of the patronymic left out, thus :—

2. Valaunal(i)	2. Tunal(a)
1. Raneni	1. Koimila

*** The Levo group contains, besides the three Celtic inscriptions discussed already, two in Latin, with Celtic names and the same construction as the three purely Celtic ones. The first measures 1^m 10 by 1^m 50, and is still at Levo, where it is fastened to the wall of the hotel. It reads as in the margin, *Veca Atbiti F(ilia)*, which had it been in Celtic would have probably been *Veca Atbitia* or else *Veca Atbitala*. Had the Latin, on the other hand, been the original formula, we should probably have had it adopted in the foregoing inscriptions, with a Celtic word for son or daughter inserted. That is to say, the original formula was Celtic and the Latin version was the translation, which had to have recourse to the word *filius* or *filia* as the case might be. Altogether the Latin proves that the foregoing translation of the Celtic formula here in question is in the main correct.

VECA
ATBITI
F

Of the names in this epitaph, the first, *Veca*, is the feminine corresponding to the (Latin) nominative *Vecus*, of which the genitive *Veci* occurs in 'Messava Veci f(ilia) Uxor' in an inscription from Bovegno in the Val Trompia, which drains south towards Brescia (*C. I. L.*, V. 4910): compare the potter's stamp *Veco-rix* (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 10010. 1990) now at Rheims. There are a number of related forms, the simplest of which was *vix* (= *vic-s*), genitive **vic-os*, plural nom. *vic-es*. It has been guessed that this is related to Irish *fich* 'a battle, a fight' and *fichim* 'I fight', also to Latin *vinco* 'I conquer', and *per-vicax* 'stubborn, firm', so the meaning to be attached to *vix* is probably that of 'warrior, conqueror'. In Irish the word occurs in the genitive as *vic-as*, for common Celtic *vic-os*, also as *vvecc-as* (=*vech-os*), in compound names in Ogam such as *Bora-vvecc-*, *Erca-viccas*, *Lugu-vvicc-*, *Orga-vicas*, *Rittu-vvecc-*, *Ritta-vvecas*, and possibly *Glevica* . . . for *Gleva-vicas*. To this may perhaps be related such forms as *Vecco* and *Veco*, both of the *n* declension, and *Veccius* implying *Veccos* (*C. I. L.*, XI. 1147, p. vii, 37): the *cc* in Ogam mostly means *ch*, but the Continental forms with *cc* here remind one of the Irish name *Fiacc*, genitive *Féicc*, which seems to be a hypocoristic form of *Vēc-*, *Veic-* from another form of the same stem: compare Gothic

waihjo 'a battle', Lithuanian *ap-veikiù* 'I force', and cognate forms with a diphthong *ei* or *ai*: see Walde, s. v. *vinco*. That the *cc* was intentional in *Vecco*, as contrasted with *Vecati* (genitive)—both in one and the same inscription—is probable: see *C. I. L.*, V. 6644, where it is said to be at Pallanza on Lake Maggiore.

With *Atbiti* corresponding to a nominative which was probably in its Latin form *Atbitus* for a Celtic *Atbito-s*, one should compare the spelling *Adbitus* in a fragmentary inscription from Vaison (Vaucluse), now at Carpentras (*C. I. L.*, XII. 1386). From these it is difficult to say whether *Atbitus* is a shortened form of an earlier *Ate-bito-s* or whether it begins with the prefix *ad*, liable to be written *at* before a consonant as in our epitaph; but compare *oberte* (= *od-berte*) in the *Celtic Inscr. of Gaul*, pp. 66, 67. Thus *ate-* seems to fit better. Here may also be mentioned the simpler name *Bitos* which is cited by Holder from Alexandria as that of a Gaul:—Βιτος Λοστολεκ ο Γαλατης, to whom he assigns the date of the first century after Christ: see *The American Journal of Archaeology*, III (Baltimore, 1887), p. 265. The Celticity of these names is beyond all reasonable doubt.

*** The remaining Levo epitaph in Latin is on a stone still at Levo measuring 1^{m} 25 by 0^{m} 45, and it reads as in the margin.

SVRICA
CIPOⅣIS
F

That is, 'Surica daughter of Cipośis', and the name *Surica* occurs also in *Suricae Dunnonis f(iliae)* in an inscription from Castelseprio, by Milan, where it is now in the Brera museum (*C. I. L.*, V. 5618). The Latin genitive masculine occurs in an inscription now in the Brescia museum, brought thither from Maderno on the western shore of Lake Garda: it reads 'Q. Surici. F(ilius) | Minervae | V. S. L. M.' (*C. I. L.*, V. 4856). The Celtic forms were *Suricos* (genitive *Surici*) and *Surica*, and they readily resolve themselves into *Su-rico-s* and *Su-ricā* with the prefix *su-* 'well, good', used much in the same way as the Greek ευ- in εὔ-μορφος 'fair of form', which in fact seems to have been the meaning of *Su-ricos*, *Suricā*. I reason in this way: Welsh *rhith* 'form, appearance' is in Irish *richt* with the same meaning and derivation from a stem *rik-tu-*, the meaning of which probably attaches, not to the termination but to *rik*: compare Sanskrit *rékhati* 'tearings, scratches', Greek ἐρείκω 'I split, break', Lith. *rẽk-ti* 'to cut, to plough for the first time' (Stokes, Fick, II. 228, 233, also I. 115). To this diphthongized stem belongs the Welsh *rhwyg* 'a tearing' for an early *reiko-*, and from the sense of tearing and splitting you come to that of lines and outlines. Compare the German *Ritze*, *Riss* 'a scratch, a rift' and *Grundriss* or *Umriss* 'the outline or contour of

anything'. If the Welsh *rhigol* 'a groove, a furrow, a small ditch' also belongs to the root in question, *Surica* may have been *Su-rīcā*.

The next name *Cipośis* is one of which I can make nothing: it is noticeable for having the peculiarly shaped *s* carried into an epitaph in the Latin language. I fancied, however, that I saw the same or a kindred name in a late inscription at Suno, to which my attention had been some time before directed by the Cav. Cesare Poma of Biella. There is in the Berlin Corpus V. 8934 Addit. (p. 1088) a reading of it by Professor Mommsen, but the representations of it which he had at his command appear to have been misleading, and as there given it is unsatisfactory. My friend, the Cavaliere, and I failed also to make it out except for a word here and there somewhat as below: it is surmounted by a wheel cross :—

CAMINA
IN : CIPODI
EM : LXVII
· · · O · · · · ᚴᚺ · · ·
IO R AD
VENAFIB · ER
ŪI · TUAVIA
EᚴT

The first three lines seem to read 'Camina | in : Cipodi | em : lxvii', possibly 'Cipodie Mil xvij'; while in the fifth and sixth lines the word *advena* seems to emerge, and the end appears to be 'ūi · tua via | est'. In *Cipodi* in the second line I should suggest that possibly the D stands for a barred Đ. This sometimes appears in Celtic as an alternative for *s* or *ss*, which would give us something like *Ciposi* or *Cipossiem*.

8. Carcegna is the name of a place in the commune of Miasuno, on the Lago d'Orta, and there, in 1903, was found one of the most instructive of our Celtic inscriptions. It was on land belonging to the Cav. Curioni, who has, besides his residence at Turin, a country house on the shore of the lake close to the little town of Orta. The discovery of the inscription was communicated to a well-known and reliable archæologist, Dr. Elia Lattes, of Milan, who published a brief account of it, together with two photographs, in the pages of the proceedings of the Turin Academy—*Atti della R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino*, vol. XXXIX. Disp. 1ª (1903–4), p. 449 et seq.: see also Danielsson, loc. cit., p. 18. The inscription had been scratched

on a terra-cotta vase the top of which was missing; as it stood, it measured 0^m 07 high by 0^m 11 at its greatest diameter. Since then the missing fragment appears to have been found by a peasant, and the whole proves to have been of the same somewhat turbinate shape as that represented in Bianchetti's *Sepolcreti di Ornavasso*, plate XX. fig. 16.

(1) The legend is as follows, from left to right, round the top of the fragment :—

MɛXɛlVI · MɛɛMIlɛlVI · VɛMIɛ·
MɛXɛlIKMɛ · ɛMMIMɛ · KDɛɾɾɛMIKMɛ

That is 'Metelui Maeśilalui Venia Metelikna Aśmina Krasanikna'. On this there are two or three remarks to make: the lettering forms a circle, and the word *Aśmina* comes nearly up to *Metelui*, so the vocable *Krasanikna* is, roughly speaking, placed underneath so that it ends opposite the end of *Metelui*. The l of *Metelui* is somewhat shorter than the letters next to it, being prevented from taking its proper place by a horizontal bit of stone in the wall of the ware. The first arm of the *V* of *Venia* is slightly curved, and at the bottom the inscriber's tool seems to have slipped; but to my thinking the letter is a V and not an imperfect K.[1] In Prof. Lattes's plate there is between the I and the K of *Metelikna* a small v at the top or a mark which, with the I, completes an M, so that the reading there is *Meteliukna* or *Metelnkna*. How this spelling came in I cannot tell; I did not notice it when looking at the vase itself, but I had then no copy of Dr. Lattes's account of the inscription.

Metelui is the dative of *Metelo-s* or *Metello-s*: compare *Metela*, masc., from Borgo S. Dalmazzo near the western boundary of Piedmont, and *Metilius*, *Metillius* of which Holder gives instances. Such forms seem to be traceable to *met-*, whence Welsh *med-i* 'the act of reaping', *medel* 'a reaping party', Irish *methel* with the same meaning; but the form most remarkable in this context is the Cornish *midil*, glossed by the Latin word *messor* (Stokes, Fick, II. 207), which also occurs as a cognomen. We now come to *Maesilalui*, which is the dative of *Maesilālos*, meaning 'son of *Maesilos* or *Maesillos*': it is difficult to explain which. On the whole I should treat it as *Mesillos*, regarding it as being spelt with *ae* under Latin influence. Corssen, in his work *Über Aussprache, Vokalismus und Betonung der lateinischen Sprache*, I², pp. 692–4, concludes that *ae* from *ai* presents itself as *e*, including *ĕ*, as in *praetia*, *modaestia*, *conditionemquae*, and that in

[1] This will hardly dispose of the doubtful vocable: I have been lately examining Dr. Lattes's photographs more closely, and I seem to see ⋈ M IF that is *śnuia*, a reading which could be explained, though a highly improbable one.

the language of cultivated men the sound was *ē* in the third and fourth centuries even though *ae* continued to be written in books and public documents. He then appends a string of instances in which *ae* and *e* appear indifferently, such as Titi*ae* Lucid*e*, Polli*ae* Prim*e*, Nepotill*e* fili*ae*, and Dian*e* Sanct*ae*. Assuming that the *ae* in our inscription was due to Latin influence we reach a form of the name, which is probably more genuine, to wit, *Mesillos*, occurring as *Messili*, genitive of *Messilus* in a Latin inscription at Brescia (*C. I. L.*, V. 4536), and we have the same name as *Missillus* (*C. I. L.*, II. 5812) in an inscription from Sasamon (north-west of Burgos, in Spain) to which Holder assigns the date A. D. 239. He cites instances of the feminine as *Messilla*, with dative *Messillae* and *Messille* (*C. I. L.*, III. 1872, 1901, 3990); and from Aquileia (V. 1438) there comes a rarer genitive in *es* in *D. M. Valeriae Messilles*. Besides *Messil(l)us* there was a spelling with barred Ð or Θ, such as the potter's stamp MEΘILLVS, MIIÐÐILLVS, MEÐÐILLVS, together with the feminine *Meddila*, and related forms *Meddillius*, *Meddicus*, and *Meddirius*. It is to be noticed that, according to Holder, there was also a spelling *Medsillus*, which I regard as intermediate between *Messill-* and *Meddill-*: compare *Ressĭ-mārus* and *Redso-mārus*, identified by Zeuss with *Reddo-marus*. For all these names see Holder's entries *Meddillus*, *Redso-marus*, and kindred names; also my *Celtic inscriptions of Gaul*, pp. 11, 12, with the note on *Meddillus* à propos of Μισσουκος, in which it is suggested that *dd* represents a lisping pronunciation, common in Gaul, of *ss*, where apparently the *ss* had been derived from *ns*.

The next name, *Venia*, claims kinship with the Welsh *gwên* 'a smile', from a root *u̯en* 'to be glad, to look at with delight', whence Irish *fine* 'kinship, family, one's kin' from an early *veniā*. If our *Venia* be of the same formation it may have meant 'one of our kith and kin, one of whom her family was proud, or else one who was proud of her race and descent'. But as a matter of derivation *Venia* as a short name was based on such compounds as *Veni-clutius*, and *Veni-carus* or *Veno-carus*, the former of which is found to have been widely spread on the Continent as a potter's name: it probably meant 'one who wins fame for his clan, or else one who is famous in his clan'. From such compounds, probably, was derived a short name *Veno-s*, which is represented in Welsh by *Gwên*, the name of one of Llywarch Hên's sons. *Venia Metelilena* means a *Venia* who is a little *Metellos*, that is daughter of a father so named, an edition, so to say, of him.

Aśmina would seem to be a shortened form of *Aśimina*, and that a pronunciation of *Acsimina* or *Aximina* a regular derivative from *Acsimo-s* or *Acsimā*, as to which see pp. 27, 28 above. The lady

Aśmina was probably the last or the only wife of Metellos and daughter of Crassanos a name postulated by *Craxanio-s*, genitive *Craxanii*, in a Latin inscription at Nîmes, reading *Excingomarus Craxanii F(ilius)* 'Ex. son of Craxanios' (*C. I. L.*, XII. 3577). Holder cites related forms such as *Craxus*, *Craxa*, *Craxius*, *Craxsius*, *Craxxius*, *Craxxillus*, *Craxsantus*, not to mention the spellings with *s* as in *Crasius*, feminine *Crasia*. The reduction in pronunciation of *cs* to *ss*, while the spelling with *x* continued some time longer, may be reasonably supposed to have made the reverse possible, i. e. to write *x* for the sound of *ss* or *s*, where *x* never had any etymological footing. Thus it is possible that these names with *x* are of the same origin as Latin *Crassus*, *Crassicius*, and allied forms.

The inscription as a whole may be rendered thus: To Metellos, son of M(a)essillos, Venia daughter of Metellos and Aśmina daughter of Crassanos (give it).

(2) On the bottom of a nice little terra-cotta lamp in the same collection, I saw, in neat Latin letters, the inscription OMISE, which looks like a dative feminine reduced from *Omisai*.

*** Another, and hard to read, seems to have EABRID MA: but the D is very doubtful, and may have been L· that is L with a point following. The MA: looks as if it stood for *manu*.

9. Ornavasso, which is a small town in the south of the Valle d'Ossola not far from Lago d'Orta and Lago Maggiore, is the home of the Bianchetti family. The late Enrico Bianchetti, who died in 1893, was a member of the Italian parliament and a distinguished archæologist, who excavated two extensive burial places in the vicinity of the town. At the beginning of September, 1890, some workings connected with the railway from Novara to Domodossola brought to light, close to a little chapel called S. Bernardo, pieces of ancient earthenware vases and fragments of objects in metal. The Cav. Bianchetti was told of the discovery, and he went to the spot but too late to prevent the destruction of a quantity of the antiquities by the navvies, who had been filled with the expectation of finding treasure. After putting a stop to the devastation with the aid of his friends, and securing a short lease of the piece of ground which he deemed the most promising, he went to work and did not stop till he had excavated 165 tombs, without counting those destroyed by the navvies. This was at S. Bernardo (B), and when he had finished there he secured temporary possession of another promising plot of ground not far off called *In persona* (P), which proved a somewhat later burial place; in fact it appeared to have been brought into use when the other had been filled. There also the number of

tombs excavated amounted to 165, but had the work been continued he was of opinion that the number could have been increased.

The next work he undertook was the writing of a complete account of the objects found in the course of his excavation of the two cemeteries. But he did not live to finish it entirely, and his friend Professor Ermanno Ferrero undertook to see it published, which he did under the title of 'I sepolcreti di Ornavasso scoperti e descritti da Enrico Bianchetti'. Illustrated by twenty-six photographic plates, it forms volume VI of the *Atti della Società d'Archeologia e Belle Arti per la Provincia di Torino* (Turin, 1895). This priceless collection of the antiquities which Bianchetti made is now in his house inhabited by his son, the Cav. Edgardo Bianchetti, who with his lady received us with great kindness and hospitality. I ought to have said that a number of pieces of Samian ware from Ornavasso may be seen also in the Cantonal Museum at Lugano, a few may be found in the local museum at Domodossola, and probably some in other museums to which the generous discoverer made presents out of his store.

The inscriptions which the Cav. Bianchetti has registered in his *Sepolcreti di Ornavasso* are in some cases in Latin letters and in others in the North Etruscan alphabet—the numbers are his, as follows:—(2) ATIICVA (P), which has already been noticed, p. 52. (3) . . . . *antionis* (P). (6) C||ʃ|| (P), that is *Cese*. The *s* is nearly everywhere ʃ, or the reverse, and its presence hardly proves the alphabet to be Etruscan, while C and || point to Latin, as do also such names as *Caesar*, *Caesius*, *Caesonius*, and *Caeso* or *Kaeso*. (11) . . *onis* (P). (13) P · PVSIONIS (P). (14) *Sa* (B), which is doubtless part of the name in the next number. (15) *Sabi* (P). The letters and words in the Etruscan alphabet are the following:—(1) Ⱥ (B). (4) ᛇᛜIXⱭ (B), that is *Atios*, possibly *Antios* or else *Adios*. This last occurs as a dative *Adio* at Arles (*C. I. L.*, XII. 796). (5) ⱭTIʃ (P), that is *Atis*, which may be said to be in mixed letters. It was the name of a king of the Transpadan Boii in the third century B.C.: see Holder, s. vv. *Atis* and *Galatos*. (7) ᛘ (B). (8) ᛒV (B): compare *iu* in 20 (γ) below. (9) *kia* (B), with which may perhaps be compared *Vasekia* in no. 18. (10) KDI, that is *Kri* (B). (12) ᚹᛜV, that is *Pov* (B). (16) X (B), probably the Etruscan for T, occurs on a number of vases *a trottola* and other vessels. Nobody has, so far as I know, guessed the meaning of this and the other one-letter inscriptions.

(17) ᛇᛜMⱭᛇⱭV (B), that is *Vasamos*, in which we seem to have the *vas* of the Celtic *vasso-s* continued in Irish as *foss*, Welsh *gwas* 'a young man, a servant'. Holder cites *Vassus* also as a man's name,

having probably been suggested by such a compound as *Vasso-rix* meaning literally 'king or leader of the young men'. *Vas(s)amos* would seem to be a superlative formation meaning a most devoted attendant or companion, a most faithful vassal.

(18) ⋀|ϗ∃ϟ⋀⋁ (B), that is *Vasekia*, the feminine of *Vasekio-s* derived from *Vaseko-s*, which occurs as a (Latin) nominative *Vasecus* (*C. I. L.*, II. 363) at Soure in Portugal. Speaking of the form, one might take the termination *-eco-* to be a reduction of *-aico-*, not of *-āco-*; for some instances see Holder, volume III. 526. But there is another way of attacking the name, to wit, by pronouncing it *Vasegia* and connecting it with *Vosegus* the (Latin) name of the god of Caesar's 'Mons Vosegus' (IV. 10), whence the French *Vosges*, called in German *Wasgau*, derived according to Holder from *Vasego*: see his volume III. 448, 450. There he cites an imperfect inscription which describes a building sacred to the god *Vosegus Silvestris*. It was found at the foot of the Reiberg, and it is now in the museum at Niederbronn (*C. I. L.*, XIII. 6027).

(19) ⋁||⋈ϥϺϥ (B), which yields an ambiguous reading, either *Amasiiu* or *Amaseu*. The former may represent *Ammasi-iu*, perhaps for *Am(b)asi-iu*, to be compared with *Lutou iu* in the next number (20 γ). In any case *Veśama* is not to be accepted, as it is obtained by reading the letters from left to right regardless of their proper aspect. Note should be taken of the Ϻ which is like a ϥ with a small ✕ attached to its arm: it is Bianchetti's facsimile, p. 69. The letter ⋈ has its verticals produced below the level of the others so that it looks as if on stilts. Since there seems to be no decisive reason for reading || as Latin *e* in the midst of Etruscan forms, one should perhaps treat the || as the || of ALISI|A, that is *Alisi̯a* (*C. Insc. of France and Italy*, pp. 4, 5), which was doubtless Gaulish. Here one may accordingly read *Am(b)asi̯u* the dative of *Ambasi̯o-s*, which, strange to say, we have from far distant Thebes, to wit, in the Latin form of *Ambasius*. See the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, V, p. 264, no. 1471, and compare Dr. Herbig's *Amui*, p. 29 above. For the termination *-asio-*, *-asia*, see Holder's instances, I. 247, III. 707.

We now come to the alternative reading *Amaseu* which treats the last letter but one as Latin || (= *c*). That name I should regard as standing for an earlier dative *Am(b)ase-ui* of *Am(b)aseo-s*, derived from a simpler form *Am(b)aso-s*; for the termination *-eo-s* (perhaps for an earlier *-aio-s*) one may refer to p. 7 above. I give the preference to the reading *Amaseu* 'To or for Am(b)aseos'.

(20) As regards inscriptions we now come to far the most important of the Ornavasso finds: it is a vase *a trottola* of red earthen-

ware measuring in diameter where it bulges most 0^m 208, and in its total height 0^m 138 (*I Sepolcreti di Ornavasso*, pp. 69, 145). The vessel shows on different parts of its surface no less than four bits of writing: they seem to have nothing to do with one another, and they have been read as follows:—

(*a*) ΛƎVOϺI

That is, reading forwards, *Inouea*, possibly for *Innoṷea* or rather *In-gnoṷea*, formed with the help of the termination *-eā* (masculine *-eo-s*) from a simpler name *In-gnoṷo-s* involving a stem *gnoṷo-s* to be compared with the Breton *gnou* '*manifeste*, *évident*', and the Welsh personal name *Gnoṷan*, also Irish *gnóe* 'anything delightful, a thing of beauty', *gnóda* 'famous'. For these and forms of kindred origin see pp. 35–7 above, where, among other instances of words derived from *gnā* 'to *know*', I mentioned the following with the prefix *in-*, Irish *in-gne* '*intelligentia*', *in-gnaidi* '*intellectus*', Welsh *yn-gnat*, *ynad* 'a judge'. It seems legitimate to suppose *Inoṷea* to represent an earlier, fuller form *In-(g)noṷea*, with the prefix *in-* strengthening the signification into something like 'having a very sound judgement, or else very distinguished, very beautiful, or very famous'. In the case of a woman's name which exact shade of meaning one should fix upon I cannot say: let it suffice that it was, doubtless, intended to be highly flattering to the bearer.

(*β*) The next reads

⁝IHVX

That is *tuni*, probably representing *Dun(n)i* the genitive case of *Dun(n)o-s*, from which we have already had *Tunal(a)* meaning daughter of *Dun(n)os*, p. 53, above. I am not sure that the punctuation following the I does not suggest that the inscriber meant to have written more, but what we have no means of guessing.

(*γ*) The next yields two words, or rather perhaps a single word followed by an abbreviation of a second one, thus:—

VI⁝VOXVJ

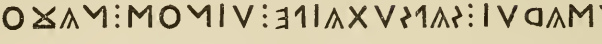
That is, when read forwards, *Lutou iu*. This would be, provided the X has its ordinary values, *Lutou iu* or *Ludou iu*. The former with *t* has possibly a nearly related form in the Irish name *Loth*, genitive *Loith* (Bk. of Leinster, fo. 334[f]), representing the early forms, nominative *Loto-s*, genitive *Loti*. Compare also the feminine *Lút*, genitive *Lúta* (ibid., 353[b], 359[f]): here *Lút* suggests the *u* declension, but other MSS. give *Lúit*, genitive *Lúta* of the *i* declension: see Stokes's

Gorman, April 30 and July 27. In any case the name in question is here of the *u* declension, *Lutou* being the regular dative. So *Lutou iu* would mean 'To or for *Lutus* an *iu*'; but what is one to make of the two letters IV, which are possibly to be detached also in the case of the AMASIIV lately touched upon? No such doubt can occur, however, as to an instance across which I have come in Holder's third volume (col. 786), where one finds quoted from *C. I. L.* (XIII. 10010. 3190ª) the short legend, BAAI·IV, not produced as a graffito or scratch of any kind but stamped on a vessel when the clay was still soft, not once but four times. The vessel is described as a piece of black pottery traced to Ladenburg, whence it found its way to the museum at Carlsruhe,[1] in Baden, where it is to be seen. The letters are ordinary Latin capitals, concerning which, as represented in the Corpus, there is nothing to remark except that the first A is made to incline awkwardly towards the *B* and away from the other *A*. All that the editor (Zangemeister) says is—'Vas nigrum BAAI·IV quater impress(um)'. To the question of the identity of the IV perhaps the first answer to suggest itself would be that it stands for the numeral four, but even so what could that mean here? Supposing a possible answer to this latter question to be forthcoming, it is to be borne in mind that *iu* goes with a dative case, here a dative feminine. Compare provisionally *Aai pala* where the *pala* was for the woman named Aa (p. 14 above). There is no mistake as to the case being dative, for it is needless to repeat that one sets out, in the present instance also, from a dative, namely, *Lutou* or *Ludou*, the gender of which is not indicated by its declension. Before dismissing this question with the admission that I hardly know what to make of IV, it may possibly be worth mentioning that IV appears once or twice as an abbreviation in the Coligny Calendar, where, as we know, the complete word was IVOS, sometimes abbreviated into IVO in that document. There I was led to interpret IVOS as meaning 'a banquet or feast' and as having possibly another form, *euos*, which we seem to have in the EV of no. 8 above. It is to be traced in Celtic personal names; see my Academy paper on *The Coligny Calendar*, pp. 50–52, where I have offered some conjectures as to the etymology of the word. Accordingly *Lutou iu* might be rendered 'A feast for Lutus' or *lutus*! and *Baai iu* 'a feast for Baa'! or better *baa*, for which see p. 75 below.

(δ) We come now to the most famous of all these inscriptions of

[1] Since this was written the learned Director of the Carlsruhe Museum kindly took an impression of the whole fragment for me; so I am enabled to reproduce it by means of photography.

Cisalpine Gaul: the learned excavator gives it as follows from right to left (pp. 69, 145):—



That makes in English letters: *Latumarui Sapsutaipe ṷinom naxom*, which should mean 'To or for Latumāros and Sapsuta Naxian wine'. The letters require no special notice except the third from the end, which has been treated as if it were a form of M, transcribed *ś* by Pauli. I see no adequate reason for that treatment; as in the case of *Aximai* (p. 27 above) I take it to be a form of X; for X = Latin *x* was inadmissible, since in this alphabet X had the sound of *t* (or *d*). So a modification was made by introducing a line joining the lower ends of the X—in the previous instance the upper ends were joined. Either expedient would do to distinguish X = *cs* from X = *t*: the former was probably the value which the graffito writer intended as the sound of *ξ* in Náξos and Náξιo-, which he reduced to *nacso-*.

Latumarui is the dative of *Latumāro-s*, which resolves itself into *Latu-māro-s*, meaning 'great in respect of what is signified by *latu*', which is represented in Welsh by *llad*. Dr. Davies explains *llad* as 'gratia, donum, beneficium', plural *lladau*, citing from a mediæval source the words 'Pan fo rhaid atteb am bob defnyn o'r llyn a'r lladau' = 'when it is necessary to answer for every drop of the ale and the other good things': they seem to have been also drinks.[1] This is borne out by the use made of *llad*, for instance, by Cynđelw, a bard of the twelfth century who, when celebrating Owain Cyfeiliog's hospitality in eight englyns, dwells in seven of them on the drinks he used to place before his guests. Gold takes a second place in the bard's grateful reckoning, and he speaks of that prince's hand as distributing drink horns full of *llad*: the line runs thus:—*Yn llaw llew cad kyrn llad llawn* = 'in the war-lion's hand the *llad* horns are full'. See the *Myvyrian Archaiology*, I. 234ᵃ. Add to this the testimony of the old Cornish Vocabulary, in which we have,

[1] Davies next gives *penllâd* (better *pen llâd*) as *summum bonum* and *rhad penllâd* as *summa gratia, summum beneficium*. The attempt to identify *pen llad* with the *summum bonum* is probably late and not worth considering here. For, bẽ it noted, there was a *llâd* which he gives as the name of a measure of capacity, a vocable of another origin, being some old form of the English *lade* 'a lading, a load'. His words in point are '*Alicubi* llâd *est mensura quaedam*, Deuddeg mwysel o geirch yn y llâd, ac 8 o'r rhŷg a'r gwenith. Penllâd yw dwy lâd, sef mesur dauddyblyg', which may be rendered: 'It is twelve bushels of oats there are in a *lade*, and 8 of rye or wheat. *Penllâd* is two *lades*, that is to say a double measure.' Pughe gives the definition of the measure as coming from the Welsh Laws, but he gives no further reference.

as printed in the *Grammatica Celtica*[ii], p. 1080, the Latin word *liquor* explained simply as *lad*, the equivalent of Welsh *llad*; and further afield there is the Irish word *laith*, meaning 'ale' (Stokes in Fick's II. 238). He suggests as of the same origin Irish *lathach*, Welsh *llaid* 'mud, mire', and compares Latin *latex* 'any liquid, anything wet'; but the Latin word itself is supposed to be borrowed from the Greek λάταξ, gen. λάταγος, plural λάταγες 'the few drops of wine in the bottom of the cup, which were thrown with a splash into a basin': see Walde, s.v. *latex*. With regard to the sequence of ideas in the drink words, one seems to have proceeded from that of good things to drink to that of banquets and hospitality generally, by substituting the part for the whole somewhat on the lines of the definition of a banquet in the Highlands of Scotland as being usually one long drink with a short interval of eating. We seem accordingly to be at liberty to suppose that the name *Latu-māro-s* meant one who was famous for his drink feasts, one whose hospitality was great. It is probably a mere accident that the man so named here is represented as the actual or possible receiver of a present of wine from a distant country.

Setting aside the end syllable of the second word as *-pe*, meaning 'and', and equating it as Gaulish with the *-qui* of another Celtic language, to wit, in Ovvακουι, which we may put into Latin as *Onnaeque* 'and of Onna' (*C. Insc. of Gaul*, pp. 8–10), we have left for our consideration the name *Sapsutai*, dative of *Sapsuta*. Holder (III. 56) treats *-ūtā*, masculine *-ūto-* as a termination, not as part of a compound, and gives other instances: this would leave us the first element of the name as *saps-*, the history of which is obscure. It may possibly be of the same origin as Latin *sap(p)īnus* a kind of fir-tree or pine, whence French *sapin* 'a fir'. The Latin meant also the knotless lower growth of a fir-tree or pine. Walde supposes it derived from a postulated Gaulish form *sapos* for a 'fir-tree', whence Provençal and O. French *sap* of the same meaning, late Latin *sapus*. It is possible that the name *Sapsuta* may have etymologically meant 'a little pine'; we had in Welsh such women's names as *Onnen* literally meaning 'ash-tree', while in English *Myrtle* and the like are not unusual to-day. But, as far as form goes, it would fit to suppose *Sapsuta*, a shortening of *Sapo-suta*, as admitting of being interpreted 'offspring or child of the *sapos*': see Stokes in Fick's II. 306. Should such an explanation of the combination *ps* be considered unsatisfactory, I may suggest some such stem as that of the Greek adjective σαφής, σαφές 'bright, clear'. On the other hand, if it is assumed that no vowel formerly came between the *p* and the *s* of *Sapsuta*, I should be inclined to regard *saps-* as the phonological antecedent of the *sass-* of the many

Celtic names cited by Holder from inscriptions in Latin, such as *Sassus*, *Sassa*, *Sassula*, *Sasso*, *Sassonius*, *Sasouna*, and a name probably pronounced *Sassamus* but spelt *Saxsamus*, *Saxxamus* or *Saxamus*.

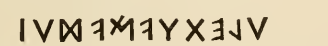
My conjecture that *sass-* is a phonological reduction of the *saps-* of *Sapsutai* would imply that the latter is decidedly earlier in point of date than the inscriptions with names beginning with *saps-* reduced to *sass-*. This is borne out by other features of the Latumaros inscription. Not to mention that the latter reads from right to left, it has the neuter ending in *m*, not in *n*, in *uinom Naxom*; in fact no other Celtic instance is known of this *m* ending, though it is recognized to have been the original nasal occurring in that position in the Indo-European parent speech, as it always does in Latin. It is needless to say that *uinom* 'wine' was a loan from Latin or some ancient Italian dialect and not from Greek *ϝοῖνος*, *ὄϊνος*. With regard to the adjective, I have already given my reason for reading *Naxom* and not *Naśom*: in either case 'Naxian, from the Island of Naxos' was doubtless meant.

It is right, however, to say that Prof. Danielsson has expressed his doubt as to Naxian wine reaching the neighbourhood of Ornavasso, but I fail to share that doubt, and I find that our distinguished colleague, Sir Arthur J. Evans, the excavator of Cnossos, sees nothing impossible in it, and I have talked about it to other classical scholars, who agree with Sir Arthur. I may add that since Prof. Danielsson wrote (loc. cit., p. 18) the elaborate paper, already mentioned, of Dr. Baserga's with the title 'La Necropoli preromana di Gudo nel Canton Ticino', appeared in the Como *Rivista Archeologica* for the year 1911, where it occupies nearly 140 pages and deals among other topics with some of the early trade routes of the Ticino. The principal one mentioned seems to have proceeded from Locarno by Bellinzona and Mesocco to the St. Bernardino Pass and over into the valley of the Rhine. Now Gudo, Giubiasco and other places near this route have yielded the excavator a thousand or more graves, the contents of which have supplied evidence that the district was thickly peopled by well-to-do inhabitants in pre-Roman times. This is considered established by the value of the objects found, silver, amber, and coral. The progress of these people is seen to have been very considerable in the arts of life, and to be proved especially by the almost incredible variety of their fibulae and fine workmanship. We are here taken back, as it is supposed, to the first stages of the Iron Age, and we find a striking abundance of fictile ware and articles of bronze, the workmanship of which is said to point to minerals coming from Tuscany. Thus is raised the question, how

the route down the Valle Mesolcina to Locarno was continued southwards. Without going into details at this point, it is sufficient to say that it cannot have passed far away from Ornavasso. Doubtless it lay near enough to make it quite possible for Mediterranean commodities to reach that ancient place. In answer to a question of mine on this point, Dr. Viollier of Zurich writes to me as follows :—

'Au sud de Locarno la route pouvait suivre et suivait probablement les deux rives du lac. Le tracé de la rive droite passait très probablement à Ornavasso et de là gagnait la pointe-sud du lac où se trouvaient les nécropoles de Sesto Calende et toutes les petites nécropoles connues sous le nom de Golasecca. Une chose est absolument certaine : c'est qu'il y avait des rapports très intimes entre les populations de Giubiasco et d'Ornavasso, et les sépultures contemporaines de ces deux nécropoles renferment un mobilier absolument identique.— Depuis la pointe-sud du Lac Majeur, la route gagnait très facilement Turin et la rive méditerranéenne ou Milan, Bologne et le territoire étrusque.'

(21) At Ornavasso I met with bitter disappointment; we failed to find the invaluable vase with the four inscriptions; the owner and a friend of his kindly searched for it all the morning of April 14, and so did I, but in vain. This so curtailed my time there, and so disconcerted me, that I do not consider that I did anything like justice to the other inscribed vessels there, which are spread over several rooms of the house. They were no longer in the order indicated by the numbers on them. It was useless to call for number 'So and So—the next—and the next'. One would have to go through them all from beginning to end. Moreover there are some specimens there which may have come from other collections than the two described in the Bianchetti volume; perhaps they are things rescued from the navvies. At any rate I copied one graffito which I could not identify with any of the inscriptions mentioned in it. It runs from right to left, and the reading, somewhat difficult, is as follows :—



This would make *Vletuamaśui*, followed, I must add, by two characters which I failed to identify, but, as their aspect seems opposed to that of the other letters, they are probably not to be read continuously with them. They somewhat remind me of the two baffling symbols preceding *Tiusiuilios* in the form which Pauli gives them in his no. 23 in his plate I: see page 44 above. As for the lettering of the rest of the line I wanted at first to read the third letter as (= *a*), but I could only make it (= *e*); the second V has its first limb sufficiently prolonged

below to recall a Greek Y: compare the first V of *Utonoiu* at Andergia, p. 34 above. The branching of the M (= *m*) is very crude, and it much resembles that of the Giubiasco name *Amaśeu*, p. 61 above.

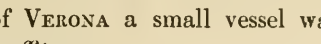
The last-mentioned form, though there left doubtful, comes in useful here in another way: it helps to divide the legend before us, to wit, into *Vletu Amaśui*, with *Amasui* dative of *Amaso-s*, better *Ammasos* from *Ambaso-s*, the basis of *Ambasius*, for Celtic *Ambasio-s*, and of *Amaśeu* as a possible dative of *Am(b)aseo-s*, referred to above. The next question is, what *uletu* may be. Having been forced to rule out *ulatu*, one is led—I may say driven—to write it *u̯ledu* and identify it unhesitatingly with the O. Irish word *fled*, Welsh *gwledd* 'a feast, a banquet, a *schmaus*'. Both the Irish and the Welsh forms are feminine, and the former is known to be of the *a* declension, but as that and the *o* declension (masculine and neuter) have been encroaching on the smaller declensions in *u* and *i*, I have little hesitation in thinking that our *u̯ledu* proves the word to have originally been of the *u* declension. We translate accordingly *U̯ledu Am(b)aśui* as 'A feast for Am(b)asos'! I may confess that when, considering the case of *Lutou iu* and *Baai iu*, I suggested rendering them 'A feast for Lutus!' &c., I had no notion I should be able to produce such an indubitable parallel. It makes up in some measure for the disappointment of failing to discover the Latumaros vase.

IV

There remain to be discussed a few inscriptions which I had not at first intended to treat as a group. On closer study of them I became more disposed to look at them in that light: at any rate they point to three definite centres, to the neighbourhood of Verona, to the Val Sabbia north-east of Brescia, and to Voltino, high up on the western bank of Lago di Garda. In a word, that lake may be regarded as occupying the middle of the region to which the inscriptions point. At present the data are wanting to prove that this Celtic region of Lake Garda extended itself so as linguistically to touch the other Celtic district in the direction of Como or Lecco. In other words, the Garda group may have been an isolated one; not to mention the fact that the neighbourhood of Sondrio in the Val Tellina to the east of the northern end of the Lake of Como shows specimens of a linguistic element which to me presents the appearance of not being Celtic. Fragments of inscriptions in what appears to have been the same non-Celtic language have also been found further

south, one to the north of Lago d'Iseo and another not very far from the southern shore of that lake: see Pauli's nos. 27–9.

1. In the vicinity of VERONA a small vessel was found, bearing from right to left the graffito,



That is, read the other way, *Koliuetu*. What has become of it I do not know; but it was Pauli's no. 39, and in his plate the letters VIJ are shown cut across by a scratch, which cannot have been part of the legend. One also sees an irregular little hole in the surface between the V and the ∃, which was likewise due to accident; it is therefore, I presume, not to be considered in any attempted interpretation. I mention this as Professor Danielsson is inclined to divide the reading into *Koliu·etu* (loc. cit., p. 23). I prefer to treat the letters as making one compound name to be analysed into *Koli-uetu*.

We now come to the question concerning the values here of *k* and *t*: I fix them as *k* and *d*, which I do by 'jumping' at the conclusion that what we have here as a personal name was in reality in the first place a tree name. Compare the case of the Welsh saint who has left his name *Collen* 'hazel' to the church and charming vale of Llangollen in North Wales: see also *Sapsuta*, p. 65 above. The name will be easier to recognize when written *Koli-u̯edu*, but then we have to restore the *i* of the Celtic *vidu* and Teutonic *vitu*: compare *Bilinos* and *Belenos*. The *u* stem *vidu* is represented by the Irish word *fid* (gen. *fedo*, *feda*) 'wood', of the same declension, Welsh *gwyđ* 'wood', Breton *gwez*, Welsh singular *gwyđen* 'a tree', as in *sybwyđen*[1] 'a fir-tree', Breton *gwezenn* 'a tree', Old H. German *vitu*, A.-Saxon *wudu*, Eng. *wood*: see Fick, II. 280.

It now remains to ascertain what tree was meant by *Koli-u̯edu*,

[1] Under **soqo* 'resin' Stokes suggests with hesitation (Fick, II. 303, 304) that Med. Latin *sapus* 'a pine' was a loan from Gaulish **sapo-s* from a pre-Celtic *saqo-s*, which he gives also as *soqo-*. From the Latin form *sapus* he derives Med. Breton *sap* 'a fir-tree', while the Mod. Breton *saprenn*, plural *sapr*, he traces from *sappren* by a process of popular etymology, which neither Ernault nor Henri seems to accept. But he appears to regard Welsh *syb-wyđ* 'fir' and the *sibuit* (gl. *abies*) of the Cornish Vocabulary as derived directly from *soqo-vidu* which he translates into German as 'Harz-Baum'. But Williams in his *Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum* did better in deriving these also from Latin *sapus*, together with the later Cornish *saban*, *zaban* 'a fir-tree'. The compound of *săp-us* with Welsh *gwyđ* would have to be in the first instance *sĕb-wyđ*, where the obscuring of the first vowel into *y* was regular, especially if the stress was on the next syllable, which it would be at any rate in the singular *syb-wyđen*. The case could hardly be very different with the Cornish *sib-uit* with *t* for *d*.

and to help us to do this we have the qualifying element *koli*, which recalls the Mod. English *holly*, together with allied forms such as *hollin*, *hollen*, with the same meaning, Old English *holen*, *holegn*, which is represented in the New English Dictionary as radically connected with O.H. German *hulis*, *huls*, whence Mod. German and Dutch *hulst* 'holly', also French *houx* with the same signification. Compare the following Celtic forms:—Irish *cuilenn*, genitive *culinn* (Stokes's *Gorman*, May 21, gl. 4), Welsh *celyn*, singular *celynnen*—*celynen* is bad spelling—Breton *quelenn*, '*houx*', sing. *quelennen*, Cornish Vocabulary *kelin* (gl. *ulcia*), Williams's *celin*, sing. *celinen*, presumably for *celinnen*. Related forms in Welsh occur in the following:—*Celynnog Fawr yn Arfon* (now usually reduced to *Clynnog*), meaning 'the Great Holly Grove in Arvon', that is, St. Beuno's Church near Carnarvon—the Breton and Cornish forms are *kélennek* and *celynnec*; *Celynnin* in Llan-*gelynin* (locally so pronounced) also in Carnarvonshire (Fisher in the *Lives of the British Saints* enumerates two so named, s.v. *Celynin*); and the *Book of Llan Dâv* (p. 275) has a *Lann Celinni*, a church in the deanery of Archenfield in Herefordshire (Fisher, p. 105). The Story of Kulhwch and Olwen has a *Kelin*, son of Caw, whose name, like the Irish *Cuilend*, *Cullenn*, *Cuilenn* (K. Meyer's *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*, I. 550), means simply 'holly'. The stem of the Irish word is given by Stokes (Fick, II. 91) as *kolenno-*, while the Welsh seems rather to postulate *kolinno-* as the basis of the modern *celyn* 'holly'.[1]

Now if we compare the Celtic and the Teutonic forms, we find for instance that *kolenno-* and the O. H. German *hulis* seem to imply

[1] By the side of this instance of vowel change one may place the following case:—Welsh has a word *celli* with *ll* from *ld*. It means a grove, and being feminine is mutated into *gelli* after the article; so *y Gelli* 'the Grove' is a very common name of farm-houses in Wales, often shortened to *Gelli* alone. It was used in Cornwall in the same way, but there *celli* commonly underwent a further change into *cilli*. It so happens, however, that West Saxons settling in Devon stereotyped the word in an early form, to wit, that of *colli*; and in the basin of the Taw, for instance, there are villages called *Colli-bear* or *Colli-beer*, to which the family of our colleague Dr. Fred. Conybeare traces its name. Its history, and that of the corruption of *colli-* into *coni-*, will be found discussed in a brochure published this year, entitled *Conybeare Wills and Administrations, 1563–1601*, by H. Crawford Conybeare, M.A., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-law, &c. Starting from the word *colli* we have not only the origin of *celli*, but we are also enabled to correct the article in Fick's *Dictionary*, II. 82, headed KALDET- '*Holz*', from which Stokes derives Welsh *celli* and the Irish *caill* 'wood, forest', dative *caillid*. Instead of *kaldet-* we may now put down *koldet-*, which brings us nearer to the cognate English word *holt*, German *Holz*. I may mention, by the way, that the *Gelli*, the Grove, usually contains bushes of thorn, elder-trees, and rowan-trees, originally intended perhaps to keep elves and fairies away from the home.

a common stem which may be put down as *kuli-* or *kole-*, *koli-*, with a meaning suggestive of holly. My conjecture is that we have it in the *koli* of *koli-uedu*, *koli-u̯idu*, which accordingly could only mean 'holly tree'; as a man's name the nominative was probably *Koliu̯idu-s*, but was liable to lose the final sibilant. The idea conveyed by such a name or nickname is that of being armed at every point, like the holly. As hinted, it may have been simply a nickname, or at any rate in the first instance a nickname.

2. To the north-east of Brescia, and some distance to the west of Lago di Garda, there is the basin known as the VAL SABBIA, in which a stone was found with two words inscribed on it. It is now in the Civic Museum of the Roman Period, called also *Museo Patrio*, at Brescia, and reads as follows in Roman capitals :—

DIEVPALA
MINVI

It is given in the *C. I. L.*, V. 4897, and the editor, the late Professor Mommsen, says of it—'Integra mihi visa est. Fortasse Raetica magis quam Latina.' As Mommsen had doubts as to its being Latin I am encouraged to claim it as Celtic. I have already (p. 17 above) had my say about the name *Minu̯os*, of which we probably have the genitive here, though formally the dative in *-ui* may not be out of the question. For that would be *Minu̯ŭi*, of which the spelling might possibly be reduced to MINVI. But in favour of the genitive is the fact of the governing noun preceding, whereas *pala* in the Lugano formula with the dative, follows, as in *Slaniai Verkalai pala*, p. 4 above. The other vocable seems to divide itself into *dieu* and *pala*, the latter being probably no other than the word for which the meaning of grave or burial place has already been conjectured: see pp. 4, 5 above. It remains to identify the meaning of the prefixed *dieu*: this recalls the Welsh *dieu* as in *tridieu*, Modern *tridiau* 'the space of three days', going back to *di̯ou̯-*. Compare also *dyw* in *hedyw* 'to-day', Irish *in-diu* of the same meaning, which is mostly prefixed (adverbially) to the names of the days of the week as in Welsh *dyw llun* and *dywllun* 'on Monday' and *dyw Awst* 'on Lammas Day, the first day of August' (Evans's *Geiriadur*, s. v. *dyw*), literally 'on the day of Augustus'. The substantive corresponding to these adverbials usually requires the cognate word *dyd* (from *dī̆es*), as in *dyd Llun* 'Monday', *dyd Mawrth* 'Tuesday', *dyd Calan Gaeaf* 'the Winter Calends'. But *dyd* has among its meanings that of one's day or lifetime, time, age, that is, a prolonged time. It is probably in that direction that we should seek the explanation of *dieu*, namely, as meaning 'for a long

time', just as the Latin word *diū*, which I would treat as closely akin,[1] meant 'long (in the temporal sense), for a long time'. In that case the inscription would mean the 'perpetual or permanent grave or burial place of Minuos', probably in the sense that the plot of ground was his property for ever, and that it was never to be seized or encroached upon by an alien.

3. Voltino is a village a little south of Limone far up on the western coast of Lake Garda: there in the church tower was found a slab of marble bearing an inscription which is in two languages. It is now in the *Museo Patrio*, at Brescia, where I saw it in 1906. My reading has been given in the *C. Insc. of France and Italy*, p. 65, as follows:—

TETVMVS	Tetumus
SEXTI	Sexti
DVGIAVA	Dugiaua
SAMADIS	Sasadis
⁘OWEᚼCAᚼI	Tome · Ecaai
OBAΛᚼᚠIᚠ⁘IИᚠ	Obaa · Anatina

I will not repeat the remarks I then made to the Academy as to the individual letters, or remind you of the rash conjectures in which I indulged on that occasion. The former stand but needless to say the latter do not, and I may mention that my chief mistake was to assume the fourth letter of the last line to be a lambda, which was also Pauli's way of looking at it in his no. 30. I am now convinced that it was meant as a Latin Λ, purposely formed different from the A immediately preceding it, for it is to be noticed that the *aa* of *Obaa*, as I now take them to be, are most carefully made different from one another, for they are the Latin ones AΛ; and in the fifth line we have Latin A and Etruscan ᚼ next one another. Add to this couple of instances the Ladenburg vessel with *baai* with the two *aa's* made to incline awkwardly from one another, ᚴA, which was evidently meant to answer the same purpose.[2] They will come under notice

[1] This was the kind of derivation given to the Latin *diu* by the late Prof. Osthoff in the *Indogermanische Forschungen*, V. 284–7, while Walde s. v. contests some of Osthoff's details and prefers deriving *diu* from *dūdum* 'a short time ago, formerly'; but his argument fails to be convincing. Brugmann renders *diū* literally 'bei Tage', and adds that it is from **dioui*, if not from **dīēu*: see his *Grundriss*, I. II. 910.

[2] I cannot at present make use of the Tessereti *Aai*, as I have read AA, while I find that Giussani makes them ΛΛ, as may be seen in his *Tesserete*, p. 8; and the ΛᚱI of *aamiti* is altogether too uncertain: see pp. 22, 23 above.

under the next numeral: see also pp. 5, 14, 39, 63, 75 of this paper. The non-Latin character ⋈ was so familiar to the inscriber that he has introduced it here in the midst of letters of the Roman alphabet.

Taking the Latin legend first, I render it, 'Tetumus son of Sextus (and) Dugiaua daughter of Sasa', better Sassa. The form *Saśadis* probably renders a Celtic genitive *Sassad-os*, the nominative corresponding to which would be built *Sassad-s* and rubbed down regularly into *Sassā*, which we seem to detect in one or more of the instances of a masculine *Sasa* cited by Holder. One of them, in the Philharmonic Museum at Verona, comes from Este, and another, on a tile found at Turin, is supposed to be in the museum of that city, though Mommsen failed to find it: see *C. I. L.*, V. 2710, 8110. 428. Neither, however, is in point if the Corpus reading, *Sasae* or *Sasæ*, is correct: in both instances Holder gives *Sasa*, without alluding to the difference, as far as I have noticed.

Concerning *Dugiaua*, also *Dugiauua*, see my paper on the *C. Insc. of Gaul*, p. 4. *Tetumus* probably stands for a Celtic *Tettumo-s* formed with the affix *-u-mo-s* (fem. *-u-mā*) of which Holder has collected instances, while we probably have the stem of the word represented in such names as *Tettus*, *Tetta*, *Tetto*, *Tettonius*, derived from some form akin to **tato-s*, whence Welsh *tat*, *tad*, Breton *tat* 'father', the medial consonant being sharpened, which is common enough in the case of hypocoristic formations.

As already suggested I now treat the two last lines as reading *Tome · Ecaai | Obaa · Anatina |*, which seems to have meant 'To or for Toma daughter of Ecaaios, Obaa Anatina', that is to say, Obaa Anatina gives it to, or has it put up for, Toma daughter of Ecaaios. There is no suggestion of any relation between the Celtic legend and the one in Latin. All one can say is that possibly the persons commemorated were members of one and the same family, but that it was thought needless to indicate that fact on the monument. Otherwise it would look as if Obaa had simply seized on a slab of marble already inscribed, and put it up to the memory of a woman whom she was interested to honour. Against that is the fact that no care was taken to prevent the legend from appearing continuous from the first letter to the last, unless the dotted X be regarded as evidence to the contrary; but its significance, if any, is reduced by the use of the same dots afterwards in the middle of the last word.

As to the mixture of letters in the two last lines we find among the characters of the North Etruscan alphabet the Latin letters,

A, Λ, B, C, and perhaps one may treat as Roman the use of the twigs, not for *z*, but for stops. In any case with the lambda and the zeta goes the reason for Pauli's associating this inscription with that of Tresivio near Sondrio in the Val Tellina and others found near Lago d'Iseo: see his nos. 27–9, pp. 14, 15.

We now come to the proper names: I can make nothing of the first, as *Towe* or *Touue*, and *Tome* can hardly be the dative of a Christian *T(h)omas*. Perhaps we may connect *Tome* with a man's name *Tommos*, well established at Cittanuova on the west coast of Istria, and also at Buje in the same neighbourhood (*C. I. L.*, V. 381, 417); it probably follows that the name here would be more correctly written *Tomme*, the dative of *Tommā*. In his *Celtic Declension* Stokes gives Gaulish *rēda* 'a chariot' making in the dative '*rēdē* (*rēdī ?*)'; both are now established, thus Βηλησαμα is in the dative Βηλησαμι (loc. cit., p. 60, and *C. Ins. of France and Italy*, p. 13), but as the oldest dative fem. has been found to have been in *-āi* or *-ai* (p. 5 above) the intermediate stage between *-ai* and *-i* must have been *e*, which we have here in the case of *Tom(m)e*. *Ecaai* is probably the genitive of *Ecaaios*, a name spelt *Eccaios* on bronze coins of the Senones, which have been found in Paris, Rheims, Catenoy (Oise), Pommiers (Aisne), and Compiègne, and on silver coins of the Transpadan Boii. Holder cites besides *Eccaios* such related forms as *Ecco(-briga)*, *Eccius*, *Eccia*, and *Ecco*. They are possibly derived from *equ̯o-s* 'horse' with a hypocoristic sharpening of *equ̯o-* into *eqqu̯o-*, whence *eqqo-*, *ecco-*: compare *maqa-s* 'son' often in Ogam as the genitive *maqqi*, *macc* in manuscript Irish, while Welsh *map*, *mab* comes from **mapo-s* = *maqo-s*, not *maqqo-s*.

Next comes the feminine name *Obaa* which seems to claim kinship with **obno-s*, whence Welsh *ofn* 'fear' and Ir. *óman*, *uaman*; Holder also cites a man's name *Obnos* from a Celtic bronze coin, on the authority of Muret & Chabouillet, 6310; not to mention *Oba* and *Onoba* from Spain, together with *Obavus* and *Obienia* from Narbonne. As we have *Ecaai* here with *Eccaios* on the coins, we may treat *Obaa* as a probable spelling of *Obā*; the data, however, do not enable me to elicit the signification of the name. *Anatina* would seem to be an epithet or surname, which resolves itself in the first instance into *An-atina*. The prefix *an* in most Celtic proper names has the intensitive force of 'very or very like'. The compound would mean 'very *Atin-*'; but what *atin-* meant I cannot say. Holder cites a name *Attinus* or *Atinus*: one of those who bore it was a potter, who could not decide which he preferred, the spelling with *t* or that with *tt*. See *C. I. L.*, XIII. 10010. 197, where we have *Atinus* stamped

four times on a dish of black pottery traced to Saarlouis on the Saar in Rhenish Prussia, and thrice on one traced to Andernach, now in the museum at Bonn. The operator usually repeated himself until he got a stamp which he deemed satisfactory. The feminine of *Atinus* was doubtless *Atina*. Holder has no *Atinios* or *Atinia* as a personal name, but he cites a feminine noun *atinia* used by Columella in his *Res Rustica*, V. 6. 2, for one kind of elm as follows:— 'Ulmorum duo esse genera convenit, Gallicum et vernaculum; illud atinia, hoc nostras dicitur.' This brings us to a tree, and so does the ancient Irish proper name *Ethne* or *Eithne*, which seems to be, phonologically speaking, the exact equivalent of *atinia*. On the other hand *Ethne* does not mean any kind of elm, but appears to be identical in etymology with the common noun *eithne* fem., which Dinneen defines as 'a kernel; fruit, produce; a female personal name, now anglicized into *Annie* in Ulster'. *Eithne* as the name of a river, that is, doubtless, of a river goddess, becomes *Inny*, as for example, in the county of Westmeath. The data do not enable us to clear up the seeming discrepancy of meaning, and though *Ethne* is *Atinia* rather than *Atina*, I should guess that *An-atina* meant approximately 'very like a kernel', 'sweet as a nut', unless one should prefer an interpretation that would make the lady into a 'nut-brown maid'.

4. The vessel with BAAI·IV impressed on it has already been mentioned in connexion with the Ornavasso one with *Lutou·in* (p. 63 above). The stamping of the former vessel four times with the same seal may be compared with the case of the potter Atinus, which has been mentioned in passing. In the present instance the photograph shows only one of the four impressions as completely legible. But there is, if I am not mistaken, a difference: I am inclined to regard *baai* as a common noun, and to translate *Baai·iu* as 'A feast for battle'! In other words the vessel is supposed to say 'I bring you a feast to prepare you for the fray'. The syntax will stand, I think, even when the words are construed in that way.

Whence the little inscription in question reached Ladenburg in South Germany it is impossible to say; but the question here is rather where it was stamped, or, more exactly, where in Cisalpine Gaul. The formula might be said to suggest the district in which the Ornavasso vase had *Lutou·iu* scratched on it, wherever that was. But a still stronger claim for comparison presents itself in the case of the Tesserete tombstone bearing the words *Aai:pala*. Here the dative feminine *Aai* is exactly parallel to *Baai*—better *baai*—and is in its spelling peculiar in the same way. The parallel extends still further, namely, to the probable etymology of the word as

a possible reduction of *bāgā*, from the same stem as Irish *bág*, fem. 'conflict, battle' (Fick, II. 160). Compare *Aa* and Irish *ág* 'battle', and see p. 14 above, the chief difference being that *Aa* has to be treated as a woman's name.

There is, however, a consideration which is not to be forgotten, to wit, that both those inscriptions run from right to left in North Etruscan letters, while the one in the Carlsruhe Museum runs in the contrary direction in ordinary Latin capitals. This appears to imply that it belongs to a later time. Close as the foregoing parallels appear, there is another which seems to me still more convincing, namely, that with the Voltino bilingual, with the same trick of distinguishing the two *a*'s (p. 72 above), in addition to showing the same direction of writing. I am disposed to think that the Ladenburg vessel was stamped—let us say made *and* stamped—somewhere in the region around the Garda Lake.

5. The Todi bilingual now in the Gregorian Museum of Etruscan antiquities in the Vatican, has been discussed at length in the Academy paper on the *C. Inscr. of France and Italy*, pp. 69-74. That being so I need hardly go into the details. There is no question of the inscription coming from Cisalpine Gaul, but the men who had it put up probably came from there, and in that sense it belongs to the present list of inscriptions. It was possibly in the course of a raid southwards that Ategnatos fell near Todi. The whole reads as if he were one of the important men of the expedition, possibly the leader. Is it past all hope that some reference to such an expedition to the banks of the Tiber may yet be found in historical documents? An alternative view is possible, namely that a small community of Celts from Cisalpine Gaul were settled at Todi. This however would also require to be supported by historical evidence. The inscriptions, which are in two languages, read, Celtic and Latin alike, from left to right; so they can hardly be reckoned among our earliest lapidary documents. This reference to them I append to the Garda group chiefly as a matter of convenience, to await a hint from the historians as to the origin of Ategnatos and his companions.

This brings to a close my notes on some seventy inscriptions of various kinds and of different degrees of importance. My paper has grown too long for me to end, as I had intended, with a brief account of the present state of the question of Celto-Ligurian ethnology and language. Those who are more directly interested in the inscriptions themselves will be more pleased to hear of a recently discovered epitaph of importance. My notes on it are appended, together with photographs.

That last word reminds me that a little explanation may be necessary here concerning the photographs referred to in the body of this paper :—

1. The photographs kindly procured for me by Dr. Jecklin, of Chur, have already been mentioned : they refer to the printed matter on pp. 4, 8, 17, and 32 ; also to p. 19, where I forgot to state that the Alkouinos stone is one of those at Chur.

2. The photograph of the Komoneos stone from Stabbio, p. 18, is one of two kindly presented to me by Dr. C. Vicenzi, the learned director of the Castello Sforzesco in Milan.

3. The photographs to illustrate the Giubiasco inscriptions (pp. 23–31 above) were, as already mentioned, sent to me by Dr. Viollier of the Zurich *Landesmuseum*.

4. The photograph of the Briona stone was presented me by Signor Morandi, director of the Civic Museum of Novara, to whom I was introduced by the Cav. Cesare Poma—one out of many instances of the invaluable help which he has rendered to me. It is neither gentleman's fault that the photograph is of little use for the details of the legend, or that a slab of cement figures in the picture, which is introduced only to show the outlines of the stone and the general arrangement of the lettering of this important epitaph : see p. 46 above.

5. The photograph to illustrate the Carcegna inscription, p. 57 above, is a copy of Dr. Lattes's plate, reproduced here with his kind permission : it gives two views of the inscribed vase.

6. References have been made repeatedly to the photographs in Giussani's *Tesserete* and the *Rivista*, which he edits. Through these and in many other ways, he has by his energy and courtesy placed me under a heavy debt of gratitude.

APPENDIX

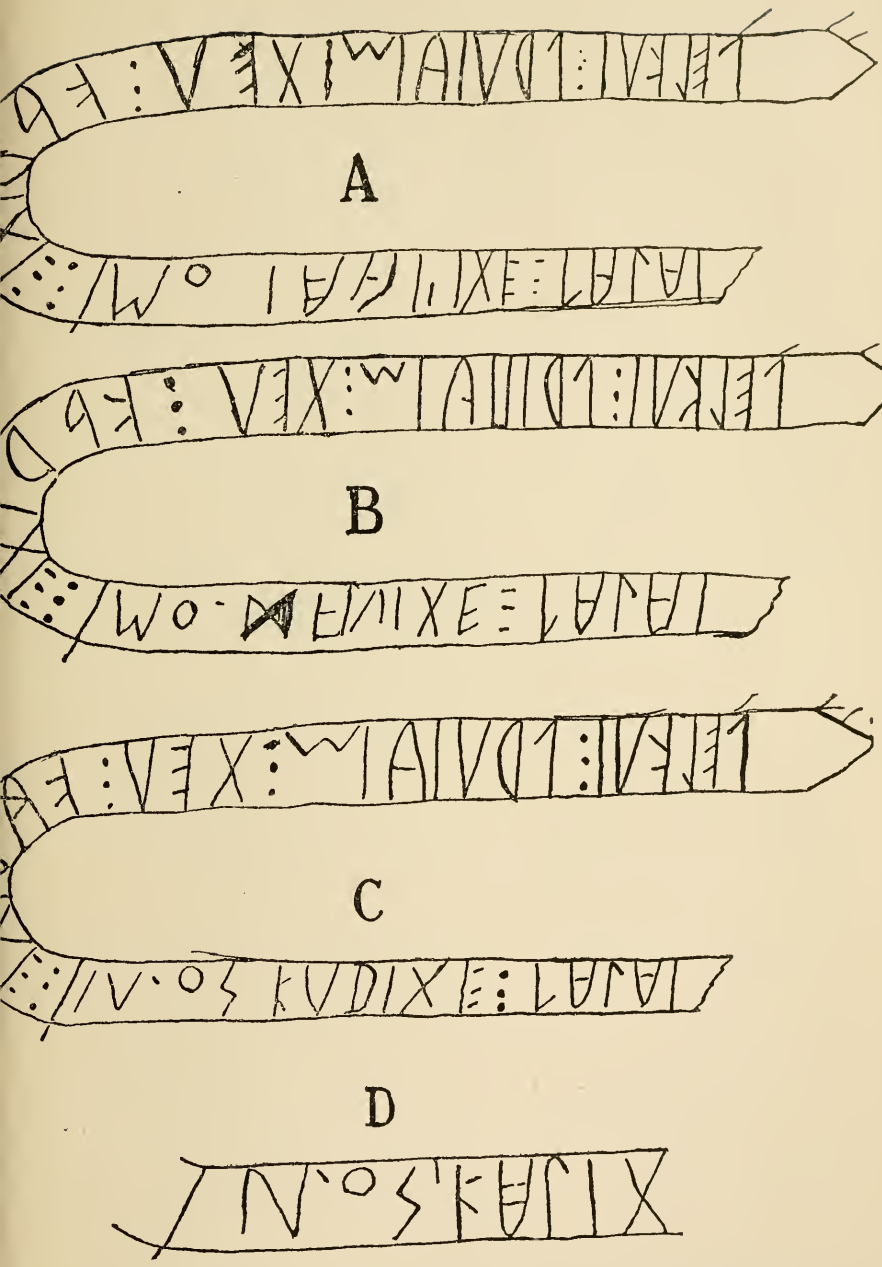
The Vergiate Stone

On the 20th of March of this year Dr. Elia Lattes, to whom reference has already been made more than once as a well-known archæologist, sent me news of the discovery of another ancient inscription of the kind that interested me. Dr. Lattes belongs to the *R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere* at Milan: the card stated that his friend the Comm. Francesco Novati, professor at that institute and president of the Historical Society of Lombardy, had sent him word that a leading pupil of his, a Signor Giorgio Nicodemi, had recently secured for the museum of his native town of Gallarate a large inscribed stone. The slab measured 2^{m} 23 long by 0^{m} 70 broad, of mica-schist, grey and friable, which had been unexpectedly disinterred early in February at Vergiate about a kilometre from the well-known little chapel of S. Gallo. Dr. Lattes suggested that for further information I should write direct to Professor Novati: I did so without delay, and I received at once a welcome photograph, from which I anticipated that the inscription would prove both important and difficult. Unfortunately the stone had been more or less damaged on the way to Gallarate from the rising ground where it was found, some 80 centimetres below the surface of the meadow covering it. Nor was that all, for it appeared that there was an ancient fracture which had occurred before it was buried in the spot where it was discovered. At all events with the materials which I then had before me I could not establish a reliable text, and I expressed a hope that Dr. Lattes would, if possible, publish an account of the stone, together with all the materials available. At length he sent me the good news that he was putting his notes together for a communication to the Lombardic Institute. The meeting at which he read his paper took place on April 24. As soon as it issued from the press he sent me a copy; it will be found in the proceedings of the *R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere* (Pavia, 1913), vol. XLVI. 414–23.

The materials referred to by Dr. Lattes consist of the following documents:—

(1) A large pencil sketch of the inscription taken by Sig. Nicodemi before the stone was carried away to Gallarate: on the next page, devoted to his sketches, it is represented by that marked A.

(2) A smaller drawing also taken by him then and represented by the sketch marked B.



Sketches of the Vergiate Inscription by Signor G. Nicodemi : see p. 78 et seq.

(3) A pencil copy of the inscription after it had reached Gallarate, taken with very great care by Sig. Nicodemi and represented here by C.

(4) Another copy taken by him of the more dubious part of the legend with the aid of a *carta oliata*, and represented by D.

(5) The photograph (E) in plate VIII, the cliché of which has, at the request of Dr. Lattes, been lent me by the *Istituto Lombardo*, together with the paper originals of C and D.

(6) Lastly, the photograph (F) which was sent me at the beginning by Professor Novati.

With the help of these materials I was enabled to make out the reading of the entire inscription. But that is not all, for Dr. Lattes, though not strong in health, was able early in May to go to Gallarate to see the stone himself, and to do that in the company of another well-known archæologist, Dr. B. Nogara of the Etruscan Museum in the Vatican, whose name I have mentioned to you on another occasion. Dr. Lattes has conveniently appended to his paper of the 24th of April a brief account of the examination which he and his friend made of the stone on May 10; he gives also a most interesting series of notes by Sig. Nicodemi as to the monument, to Vergiate, and to the neighbourhood, which that gentleman knows, nobody better.

The reader of a Celtic inscription in the North Etruscan alphabet, has three things to keep in view—the forms of the letters used, the phonetic values to assign to them, and the meaning of what they spell. I shall try to confine the next few notes to the letters, regardless of phonetics and signification. At the outset I am pleased to be able to say that the reading I had guessed coincides with that of Dr. Lattes and Dr. Nogara, except in the case of the fourth word alone: that is, we agree absolutely in four out of the six words. The writing follows a boustrophedon arrangement on what appears at first sight a mere ribbon pattern of uniform width; but on further scrutiny the ribbon is found to have been very crudely assimilated to the form of some kind of eel. The head narrows into a point, and a little behind the narrowing on the left side is seen a sort of a rhomboid /...\, and opposite it, on the right side, is a similar appendage, except that the middle line is not visible in the photograph. The two seem to be crude representations of the animal's gills at the instant of making a stroke, so to say, to propel itself. I may add that a zoological friend of mine to whom I showed the photograph at once detected one of the beast's eyes: it is the right eye, and it lies almost on the outline of the head. In the next place the whole of the boustrophedon

bend shows the ridge of its back bristling with scores—not letters—intended to recall the eel's dorsal fins. Lastly and unfortunately, the tail of our beast was broken off in the ancient fracture, and with it might have gone a few letters. But there is so much of the space after the last letter left intact that one would have expected to find a portion of a letter following to be still visible, had there ever been any more writing there. The two archæologists arrive at the same conclusion, that there never were any more letters—'alcun chiaro segno di altri elementi': see Lattes, p. 419.

The unrounded letters are about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, some a little under 5 and others a little over 6. The first group make ⋮IVƎ⅃Ǝ1 or *Pelkui*. The characters here call for no remark. The next group runs as follows ⋮VƎX!ᒣAIVᑐ1, that is *Pruiamiteu*; but there are one or two remarks to make, for example the *a* looks at first sight like A with a cross stroke passing right through both the limbs almost to the vertical lines of the next letter on either side, but more especially on the side opposite the reader's left hand. All this, however, does not cover the whole of the letter, for it appears in the photographs to be provided also with the short middle stroke of A, and we may add that this and the other instances of this letter in the inscription have the second limb gently curved: in fact its shape, a bit exaggerated, is this, ⍲, and we have it even plainer in the next word, but outside the Vergiate inscription it does not occur, as far as I have noticed, anywhere else in our inscriptions. The next letter is a good *m* of five joints, that is, of the oldest type found in the district: for other instances see pp. 15, 18, 22, and perhaps 27, above. The next letter, which I took to be ⋮, and to be an error on the part of the inscriber for I, had attracted Sig. Nicodemi, who insisted on reading I, his explanation being that the inscriber had originally made three points, but had afterwards tried to correct himself by connecting the points: his account is practically accepted by the two savants. See pp. 415, 419, where their reading is *pruiamiteu*.

The next word is ⋮ƎXIᑐ⍲⅃, that is *karite*, and it covers nearly the whole bend of the boustrophedon. The inscriber made the second letter like the fifth of *Pruiamiteu*; but he had not considered precisely the bend of the ribbon, and he accordingly did not get the correct angle which the vertical of his ⍲ should have made with the inside groove, so the second limb had to be prolonged downwards more than in *Pruiamiteu*. Add to this that the long limb is cut across near its lower end by a horizontal groove which reaches the vertical of the ᑐ: that groove appears to have been the result of the inscriber's tool slipping almost at a tangent when he was busied with the bend in the

groove delimiting the inscription on the inner side. Lastly, the tags of the ⋹ look at first sight as if clean severed from the backbone of that letter, but on close inspection it proves to be a trick of illusion which the eye sometimes plays on its unwary owner.

Next comes the word which is the crux of the inscription: it begins at the latter corner, if I may so call it, of the bend in the outlines, and to the best of my judgement it reads ⁝ϟOVVI, that is *iuuos* or *iwos*. On these letters I have the following remarks to make. The I at first looks as if produced through the boundary groove, but that, I think, is not really the case. What happened is that one of the scores of the dorsal fins of the beast started from a point near that reached by the top of the I, but not quite. The next letter seems to be a V with its first limb vertical and its second limb gently curved. The next letter was also a V of the same formation as far as concerns the perpendicularity of its first limb; but it is impossible to say whether the second half of the V was curved or not as the upper part of it is gone. The lower part was detected by Sig. Nicodemi, as will be seen in his sketches C and D, especially the latter. That when undamaged the second limb passed up to its proper height behind and above the little circular O is rendered highly probable by the low position of that letter, which would otherwise have been placed in the middle: compare the instances to be seen on pp. 8, 14, 15, 17, 18, 22 above: the same central position is usually given also to the angular ◇. The two V's would seem to have been joined together at the top. After the O comes an ϟ which was made out by Sig. Nicodemi, and I can now detect it in the photographs, though I should probably not have done so had he not pointed it out. To be strictly consistent it should have been not ϟ but ϛ in lettering directed towards the left; but in these inscriptions *s* is a thing that looks both ways. See instances of ϟ on pp. 4, 8, 18, 24, 45, 46, 60, and of ϛ on pp. 19, 42, 44, 57, 60, 61, 64. After the ϟ Sig. Nicodemi shows in sketch D that he detected a vertical mark, and I think the photographs suggest the usual punctuation, while Drs. Lattes and Nogara read I and run the lettering on to the next word, making altogether *inosikalite*, if I rightly understand them. To put it otherwise, they would read *Inosi* or else *Imosi* for what I think must be IWOS⁝; all three readings seem to imply a slight crowding where ⁝ or I should come, as if the stop or the I had been forgotten and inserted afterwards. To begin with the differences between our readings: if *m* is to be thought of, it must be an *m* like Latin M against which the other very different ᴟ affords a presumption. Neither would N be exactly the form of that letter which one would expect here. In the case of M we may

remark (counting backward) that it would lack its second limb, and that the photographs make it impossible to suppose that to have ever been there. On the other hand there is a serious difficulty of another kind which forces me to reject both M and N, and this is that neither letter would cover the oblique line near the little O or fill the space in which it occurs. The surface of the stone at this spot seems to have been bruised, and Sig. Nicodemi's evidence in C and D becomes of capital importance, and establishes a condition which the two V's satisfy. On the data before me I should say that the only other possible reading would be ⅃V, that is to say, *ul.*

The next word seems to read ⁝ƎX|⅃ꟻ⅃, that is *kalite*, but I only accept the two first letters on trust. I fancy I can see their forms in the photographs, but I am not sure enough of their precise outlines to control Sig. Nicodemi's sketches as represented in C and D. The exact shape of the *a* eludes me, but if I have seized the right points in the photograph it is a straggling big letter having two cross-bars right through both limbs, the upper one being drawn sloping downwards towards the reader's right hand, though without meeting the other and lower bar. But the photographs prompt me to ask why it is so far from the next letter to its left. In any case I cannot think it so tidy and self-contained as it appears in sketches C and D. The next letter is ⅃ as I see it in the photographs, but sketches C and D give instead of a hook at the bottom a neat curve, and the former completes it into ꟻ (=*r*), which the curve suits less readily than the angle; the photographs seem by no means to favour the ꟻ.

The last word reads |A⅃A1, that is *palai.* Here the *a* is of much the same shape as far as the outlines go, but it appears to have a single horizontal cross-bar confined to the space between the two limbs of the letter. There is no room here for doubt as to any of these five letters, nor have I any misgiving as to whether those were all the letters of this last word. There are two reasons for thinking so. In the first place, there is enough space left before the breakage for a letter following *palai* to have shown some part of itself. In the second place, there is not even a trace there of the usual punctuation ⁝ which should stand close to the last letter of the preceding word. Its absence means that the inscriber considered that he had finished his writing. If you glance at the inscriptions in this collection you will find that the absence of stops at the end is the rule. For one or two exceptions see pp. 14, 62, and p. 34, where the point · at the end of the Andergia legend is suspect for more reasons than one.

These notes may be summed up in the following reading:—*Pelkui* ⁝ *Pruiamiteu* ⁝ *karite* ⁝ *iuuos* ⁝ *kalite* ⁝ *palai.* Dr. Lattes's reading is *pelkui* ⁝

pruiamiteu ⁝ *karite* ⁝ *inosikalite* ⁝ *palai* . . . The real difference may be said to confine itself to two letters: I am very gratified at the limited extent of it, and deeply obliged to Dr. Lattes for the materials to enable me to follow him through his most valuable paper.

The individual words of the inscription have now to be briefly discussed, with the view of effecting a translation of the whole. The first is a proper name written 𐌉𐌅𐌚𐌋𐌄𐌉 or *Pelkui*, the dative case of what would have been written *Pelkos* in this alphabet. It raises the question of the value of 𐌉, *p* or *b*, and of 𐌚 in the same way, *c* or *g*. Turning over the leaves of Holder's Treasury we find that he cites a man's name *Pelgus* (*C.I.L.*, II. 5076) from the neighbourhood of Astorga in the north-west of Spain. The inscription is in Latin, so the nominative was presumably *Pelgo-s*, if Celtic. Holder also mentions a villa to which he gives the name *Pelgiacus*, now called Pigy, in the French dep. of Seine-et-Marne. If we try *b* as the value of the first consonant we can perhaps do even better, as we then stumble across various names the most likely of which is **Belgo-s*, dative *Belgui*, which would fit here, and also represent the base of the attested name *Belgius*, given by Trogus Pompeius and others as that of a Celtic leader acting in Macedon: Pausanias calls him *Bolgios*. See Holder, s.v. *Belgius*, to the bearer of which he gives the date 280 B.C. (vol. I. 384, III. 832). These names, together with that of the *Belgae* and of the goddess *Bolga* (Book of Leinster, 324[d], 336[b]), originate in a Celtic word cognate with Latin *fulgor*, *fulgur*, and *fulgeo*, *fulgēre* 'to lighten, gleam, shine'; also *flagro*, *flagrare* 'to flame, to burn', *flamma* 'flame', *fulmen* 'lightning'; and above all the Oscan dative *Flagiui* cited by Walde and interpreted as equivalent to *Fulguratori*; the more exact form in Celtic would be **Belgi̯ui*, dative of *Belgi̯o-s*, the relative position of the *l* being due to the Aryan stem having had probably the full form of **bheleg-*, in Sanskrit *bharēg-* whence *bhā́rgaḥ* 'brightness', *bhṛ́gu-* 'divinities of light'. And here one would naturally infer that *Belgos* (dative *Belgui*) and *Belgios* (Latin nominative *Belgius*) were names of the lightning as a god, or at any rate of a divinity of light, before either was ever that of a mortal.

The second word is *Pruiamiteu*, the curtailed dative, which in an older form would have been *Pruiamiteui*, implying a nominative *Pruiamiteo-s*, with the endings *-eo-s*, *-eā*, instanced at p. 7 above as one of those used in the formation of family names. Thus the two first words here, $\overset{B}{\overline{P}}$*elgui* $\overset{B}{\overline{P}}$*ruiamiteu*, would, if we drop an alternative letter, mean 'to or for Belgos the Pruiamitian', that is 'to or for

B. son of Pruiamitos'. This last name was probably a compound, but how it should be resolved is not certain, though *Prui-amitos* seems more likely than *Pruia-mitos*. In the former *amitos* might claim kinship with the name *Amitius* cited by Holder from Paris, and assigned by him to the first or second century. See also the conjectured *aamiti* on p. 22 above, where the original was possibly *Pruiaamiti*. The sequence *uia* suggests to me the former presence of a *g*: compare the national name of the *Boii* (Βοῖοι, Βώιοι), probably for *Bogii*, *Tolisto-bogii*, Τολιστο-βόγιοι (Τολιστο-βώγιοι), Τολιστό-βιοι, and *bria* from *briga*: see Holder, I. 462, 463, 1503, II. 1872, 1873, III. 931, 935, and compare *Comboios*, p. 49 above. Following up this conjecture we should have *Prugi-amito-s*, which in its first element recalls a woman's name *Prugia* in a Latin inscription in the museum at Pola in Istria (*C. I. L.*, V. 70); but if *b* is to be treated as preferable in this instance we should have *Brugi-amito-s*, and we might associate the first element with such place-names, cited by Holder, as *Brugilum* 'in pago Cenomanico', perhaps 'Le Breuil', *Brugetia*, which some would identify with Brouzet in the dep. of Gard, and *Brugalina* now Brujaleine in the dep. of Cantal. So dropping the alternatives we should have 'To Belgos son of Bru(g)i-āmitos'.

The next word is what has already been read *karite*, and the question is what values we are here to assign to *k* and *t*. To be brief I may say that I am disposed to treat the *k* as representing the voiceless mute *c* and not the voiced *g*. Similarly the *t* may be left as standing for *t*, not for *d*; but a medial *t* in this alphabet may also stand for *nt* as in *Kuitos* for *Quintos* and *Kuites*, genitive of *Kuita* from *Quinta*, also *Vitilios* for *Vintilios* (pp. 40, 41, 46, 48, 49 above). Treating the present instance in the same way, we arrive at *karinte*, which has the appearance of a participial formation representing a nominative plural *karintes* with the final *s* elided. There are other conceivable ways of explaining the word here in question, but none which lend themselves so well to a satisfactory interpretation of the whole inscription as I should construe it; I shall therefore not lengthen these remarks by discussing them in order to reject them one by one. The word is probably a form of the same origin as the Med. Welsh *carant* 'kinsmen', the old plural of *car* 'a kinsman': to this add *cares* 'a kinswoman'. These words are still used in that sense, and as far as I know in no other. Compare Cornish *car* 'a kinsman, father', *car agos* 'a near kinsman', in the Cornish Vocabulary (Zeuss[ii], p. 1068) rendering 'affinis vel consanguineus'; and Breton *kâr* '*parent*', *karez* fem. '*parente*'. In Welsh *carant* has been superseded by the forms *cereint*, *ceraint*, and *cerynt*. We can now consult Professor J. Morris

Jones's *Welsh Grammar, Historical and Comparative* (Oxford, 1913), p. 209, where these vocables are referred to the root *ker-* 'to grow', whence such cognates as Latin *cresco, crescere* 'to grow', and English *her-d*: see Walde, s.v. *creo*.

As regards the form *karinte(s)* as compared with *carant*, the *in* of the former, etymologically speaking, represents the *n̥* of *kar̥te(s)*, where the *t* was preceded by a sound which was precisely neither *in* nor *an*, but sufficiently near to *in* for the narrow vowel *e* of the last syllable to induce a modification into *in*, or what to the inscriber's ear seemed more accurately represented in that way. On the other hand *car̥t-* was not always followed by a narrow vowel, *e* or *i*; thus the genitive singular would be *car̥tos*, and that of the plural *car̥tom, car̥ton*, the influence of which would exert itself in the direction of *an* rather than of *in*. Add to this the influence of derivatives with broad-vowel endings such as the following in Holder's Treasury:—*Caranto-magus, Carantonus, Carantonius, Carantocos* (postulated by Welsh *Carantauc, Carannog*), *Carantus, Carantorius*, and others. Altogether the influence in favour of *an* seems to have been strong enough to prevent *e*, *i*, or *i̯* causing *n̥* to become *in*: take from Holder such instances as *Carantillus, Carantilla, Carantinus, Carantinius, Carantianus, Carantiana*. He supplies an exception, however, in *Carintianus* from Vaison in the dep. of Vaucluze, *C. I. L.*, XII. 1469.

The next word is *iuuos*, or, possibly, *iulos*, for which I have no manner of use. I identify *iuuos* with the IVOS of the *Coligny Calendar*, where it seems to have meant a feast or banquet, as already mentioned in connexion with the abbreviation *iu* and *eu* on pp. 62, 63, also 60. For instances of doubling the *u* between vowels see my *Celtae and Galli*, p. 64, *The Coligny Calendar*, p. 13, *The Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy*, p. 95, *The Celtic Inscriptions of Gaul*, pp. 38–41, 44, 45, 64. I find that Holder's Treasury contains many more examples.

The next word we have to deal with is *kalite*, which seems to be a verb in the imperative mood meaning 'do ye call'. The word, if this conjecture should prove tenable, would be of the same origin as Latin *calo, calare* 'to call', while the form resembles more nearly the Greek καλέω 'I call'. In Celtic itself we have the Irish word *cailech*, Welsh *ceiliog*, both signifying a cock, which come probably from the same origin: they are regarded as derived from an ancient stem *caliāco-s*, presumably meaning 'one that calls'. Compare German *Hahn*, supposed etymologically to mean singer, from the same origin as Latin *cano, canere* 'to sing', Irish *canim, canaim*, Welsh *canaf, canu* 'to sing'. See Fick II. 73, Jones's *Welsh Grammar*, p. 97, and Kluge, s. v. *Hahn*.

The last word is *palai*, a case of the noun *pala*, which has here throughout been treated as meaning a grave or a burial place: see more especially p. 4 above. The question now is what grammatical case *palai* represents. If we slavishly followed the instances with which we are now familiar, it should be the dative, and mean 'to or for the grave', that is, to or for the person in the grave. But it may have been the locative case, just as Latin *Romae* may have meant as a dative, 'to or for Rome', but as a locative 'at or in Rome'. Not only would *palai*, according to Brugmann's researches into the Aryan declension of feminine *a* stems (II^2. II. 284, 285), be both dative and locative, but Stokes specifies instances of the locative use of nouns of this declension in old Irish. See his *Celtic Declension*, p. 15, where he points, for example, to *tuaith* meaning 'in the tribe or in its territory', *tuaith* being otherwise the dative of *tuath* 'tribe or the tribe's territory': the text in question is Fiacc's Hymn, line 29, in the *Goidelica*, pp. 127, 131.

Summing up the substance of the foregoing notes, I submit the following as the text of the inscription:—*Belgui* (or *Pelgui*) *Pruiamiteu kari(n)te iuuos kalite palai.* I may say that I am inclined to think that it was meant as verse, composed in a metre approaching the form of a Latin hexameter; and I offer the following as a tentative translation:—

'To Pelgos Pruiamiteos the kinsmen (give this burial plot):
Call ye a banquet at the grave!'

But on the whole I am disposed rather to put it thus:—

'To Belgos son of Bruiamitos:
Kinsmen, call a banquet at his grave!'

It is needless to say that such an interpretation raises questions as to the funeral feasts of the ancient Celts; but we have next to no data for the discussion of them. We can only await hints from such classical archæologists as are intimately acquainted with all that is extant concerning the treatment of the dead among the ancient populations of Italy and Greece.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

P. 22. Fragment (*d*) of one of the Aranno stones suggests the following restoration :—

ᚴ:ᛁᚹᛁᛗᚨᛦᚱ[SL]AÑIUI P.)

ᚴ:ᛁᛇᛗᛟᛁᚲᛇᚷ ([TE]KIONEI P. Compare *Tekialui*, p. 5.)

:ᛁᚷᛁᛗᚨᚾᛁᚹᛞᚴ ([PRUI]AAMITI. Compare *Pruiamiteu*, p. 80.)

If, as I suppose, the three lines began opposite one another, the length of the name in the third line would explain why the end is thrown out a little : it may have ended like the other two, with ᚴ = *p*. In that case *Pruiaamiti* would have to be treated as a dative. But I must confess that it is of little avail to speculate in this way until the fragments are all conveniently housed in a museum.

P. 35. For more instances of Latin *c* for *g* see *C. I. L.* XII, p. 952.

Pp. 43, 44. In the meantime Jones's *Welsh Grammar* has appeared, and proves my quest of a stem *ali* for *eil, ail* 'second' to be unnecessary; we have only to suppose the starting-point to have been *aliós* with the stress on the final syllable, and that gives *eil, ail* 'second', while *álios* had long before yielded **alδ, all, (ar-)all* 'other'. In the latter the stress accent helped the *i̯* to become a full consonant, thereby ceasing to effect a change of quality in the vowel. This I should regard as a very early change not to be confused with the later change of *all, arall* into *-eill, ereill* 'others', which may be on a level with that of *beirđ* 'bards', if from *bardi*. A good parallel for the Mediæval *eil* 'second', from *aliós*, is the Med. Welsh *ceiliawc, ceiliawg*, Modern *céiliog* 'a cock', from *kaliákos*, which can be proved to have been formerly accented on the last syllable but one of the word in its early form. The passages to which I refer in Jones's *Grammar* will be found on pp. 97, 153, 154, 304, 305; see also p. 86 above.

P. 48. The genitive of *Onnā* should be *Onnās*, but the uncertain presence of the sibilant at the end made the name liable to be reduced to *Onnā*, like the nominative, except that the latter may have become *Onnă* at an earlier date; but even so such a close similarity between nominative and genitive must have been found an inconvenience, and the language probably took with readiness to the genitive in *-ēs*, of which we have an instance here in *Kui(n)tes*, the Celtic genitive of the borrowed Latin *Quinta*. On p. 58 above, a genitive *Messiles* (*C. I. L.*, V. 1438) is mentioned, but as it is in an inscription in the Latin

language it may be simply due to the influence of what Hirschfeld calls the *Declinatio Semigraeca*, of which he gives instances with feminine genitives in *-aes* and *-ēs*, *C. I. L.*, XII, p. 953. Whence was the ending *-ēs* of the genitive obtained in Celtic? Thurneysen suggests a convergence on a genitive *-i̯ēs* by *i̯ā* and *i̯ē* stems, together with some of the stems which appear to have had their nominative in *ī*, such as Irish *sētig* 'companion, wife', genitive *séitche*: see his *Handbuch*, pp. 178–82. Irish Ogam inscriptions, however, seem to supply only one certain instance in point, namely, in the bilingual epitaph at Eglwys Cymmun, in Carmarthenshire, which has in Latin *Avitoria* and its genitive in Celtic as *Avittoriges*, probably to be pronounced *Avittoriies*, whereas we have, commonly enough, the old genitive in such Goidelic names as *Dovvinias* and *Dovinia*, *Ercias* and *maqi Ainia*. Such a name as Κρειτε, if Celtic, suggests to me that there may have been a Celtic declension of old standing with a nominative fem. *-ĕ*, genitive *-ēs*, alongside of the one in *-ă*, genitive *-ās*. The stone with Κρειτε is in the museum at Nîmes, and is said to have come from Redessan in the dep. of Gard: see my *C. Inscr. of France and Italy*, no. XXIII, p. 39.

P. 55. Bitos's epithet Λοστοιεκ invites analysis as follows:—it stands either for Λοστοιεξ (genitive Λοστοιεκκος) or Λοστοιεκκο-ς (gen. Λοστοιεκκι) and consists of *Losto-i̯ecc-* meaning 'herb-healer, one who uses herbs for healing purposes'. *Losto-* is a *u* stem represented in Welsh by *llys* 'herbs, berries' as in *llys duon* 'bilberries', *llyscwyn* 'a herb', Breton *lousouenn* '*herbe*'; Mod. Irish *lus* (gen. *losa*) 'a leek; an herb, a plant, a weed, a flower' (Dinneen). Here the Welsh dictionaries of Davies and Pughe are hopeless; and Stokes in Fick II. 258 requires revision. The latter element of Λοστο-ιεκ is reduced in Irish to *īcc* as in *íc* (gen. *íce*) 'cure, remedy, balsam' (Dinneen), while Welsh has *i̯ach* 'healthy, sound', whence *i̯achau* 'to heal or cure'.

P. 57. The Etruscan letters in the footnote should be ᛞᛖᚡᛁᚨ 'śnuia'.

P. 74. *Obaa* is to be analysed into *Od-baa*: compare *oberte* from *odberte*, p. 55 above; see also p. 75.

P. 84. The official spelling of the Tolistobogii's national name as established by those of their coins cited by Holder, makes the first part of that compound into *tolisto-*, probably *tolistó-*. The *tolis-* of the latter would equate naturally with the *toler-* of the Latin *tolero*, *tolerare* 'to bear, support, sustain, maintain', if the syllable *er* represents an earlier *es*. In any case we can probably refer *tolisto* to

the root from which comes the Latin *tollo*, (*sus*)*tuli*, (*sub*)*latum*, *tollere* 'to raise, to lift up, to elevate'. Holder's quotations go to show that besides the correct *tolisto-* there was a pronunciation which levelled the vowels by making the word into *tolosto-*, *tolostó-*, and we have this bodily, so to say, in the Welsh word *tlws* 'a jewel or ornament for the person'. Thus we have *tlós tec* 'a fair jewel' in the piece of naïve advice given to Peredur by his mother when he is about to leave her: Lady Charlotte Guest renders the passage thus:—'If thou see a fair jewel, possess thyself of it, and give it to another, for thus thou shalt obtain praise': see her *Mabinogion*, I. 301. The original meaning of the word seems to have been what you take up in the sense of bearing or carrying on your person as ornament. Accordingly, the name of the Tolistobogii would suggest that they distinguished themselves by the weight of their torques or the abundance of the amber they displayed on their persons: compare the name Ουηβρουμαρος 'Amber-great', in an inscription at Avignon, *C. Inscr. of France and Italy*, no. vii, p. 17. The reason why they put up with such encumbrances was, doubtless, that they thought, among other things, that this made the bearer look elegant and magnificent.

The Welsh have made *tlws* useful also as an adjective, meaning 'beautiful, pretty': this is a secondary meaning implying a shifting of the point of view from the means to the effect. The steps by which the shifting took place are not very obvious, but the Welsh word has long meant both 'jewel' and 'pretty'. With regard to the phonology the first *o* of *tolostó-* can never have borne the stress accent, otherwise the syllable could not have been lost. It is to be noted that the only other *tl* word in Welsh is *tlawd* 'poor', which comes from the same root and in point of form equates with the Latin *lātus* for **tlātus*: compare the Greek τλητός 'enduring, suffering'.

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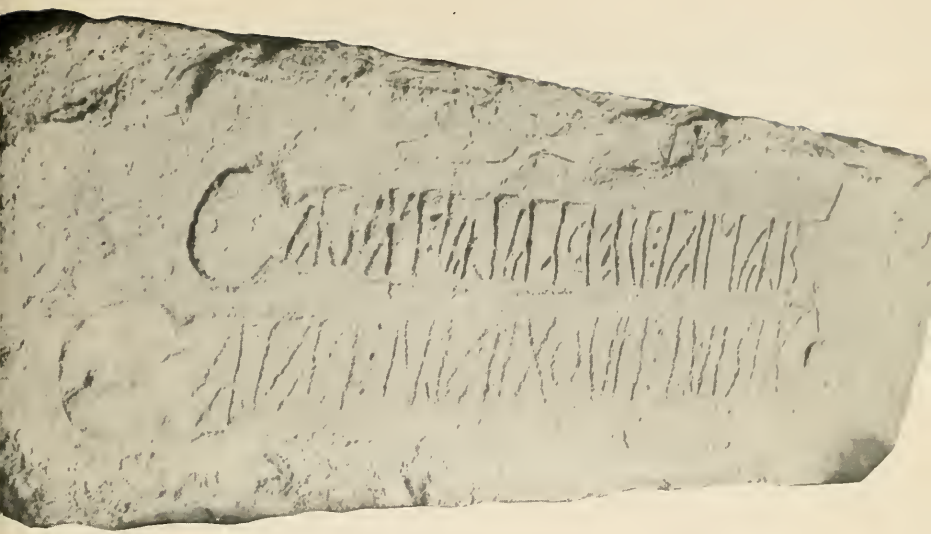

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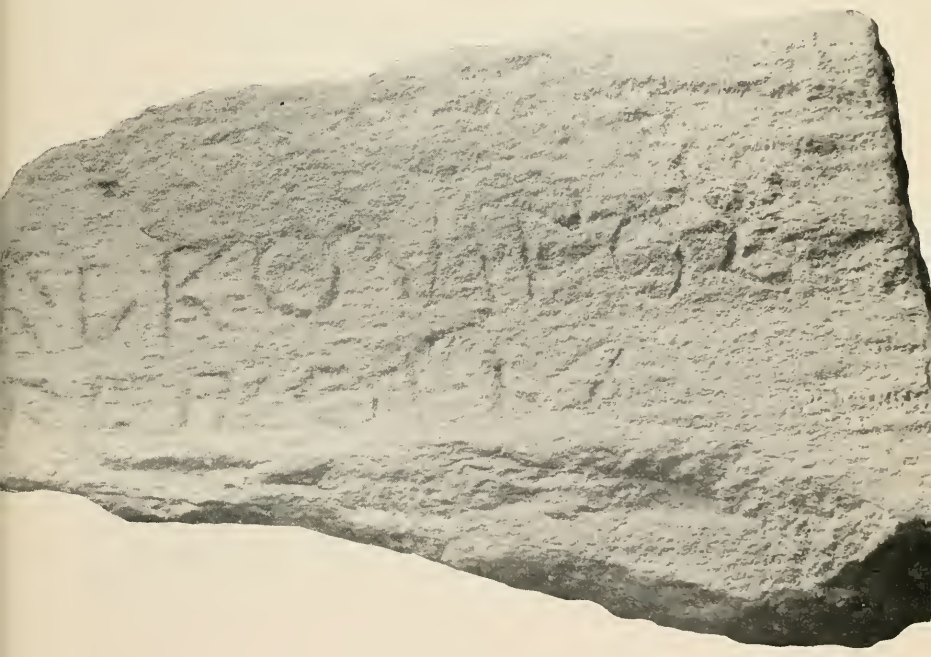

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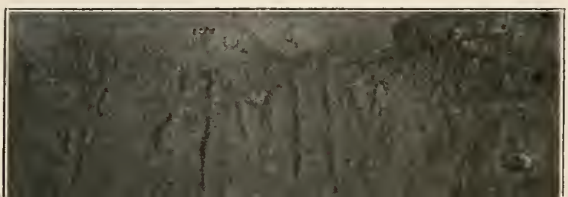

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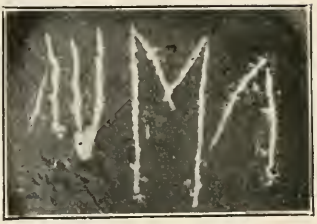

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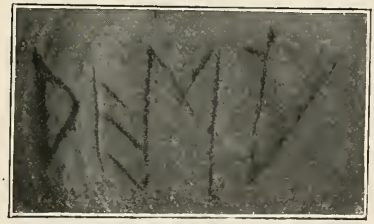

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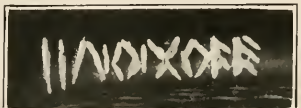

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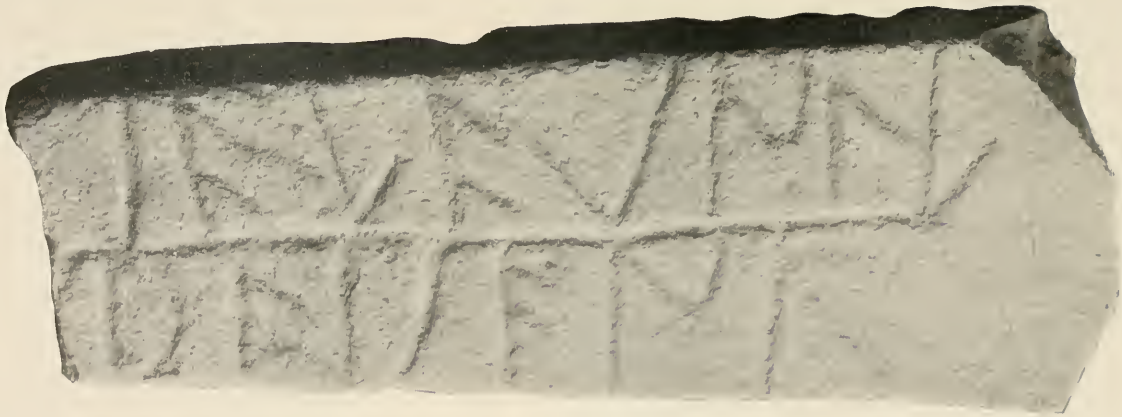

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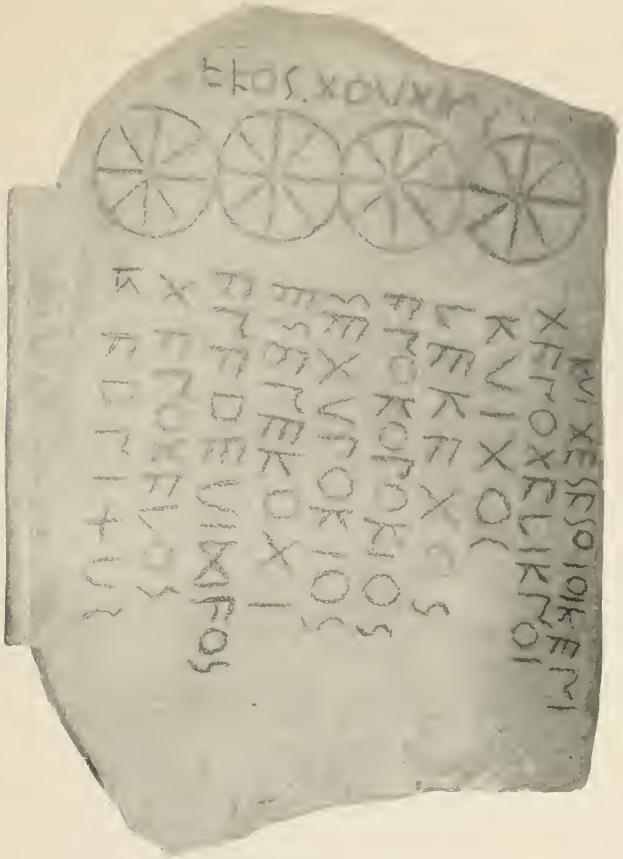

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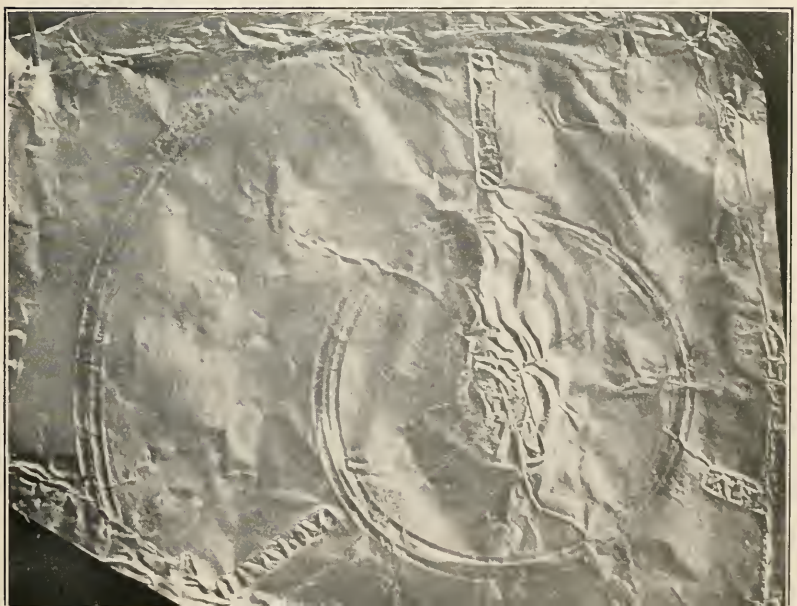

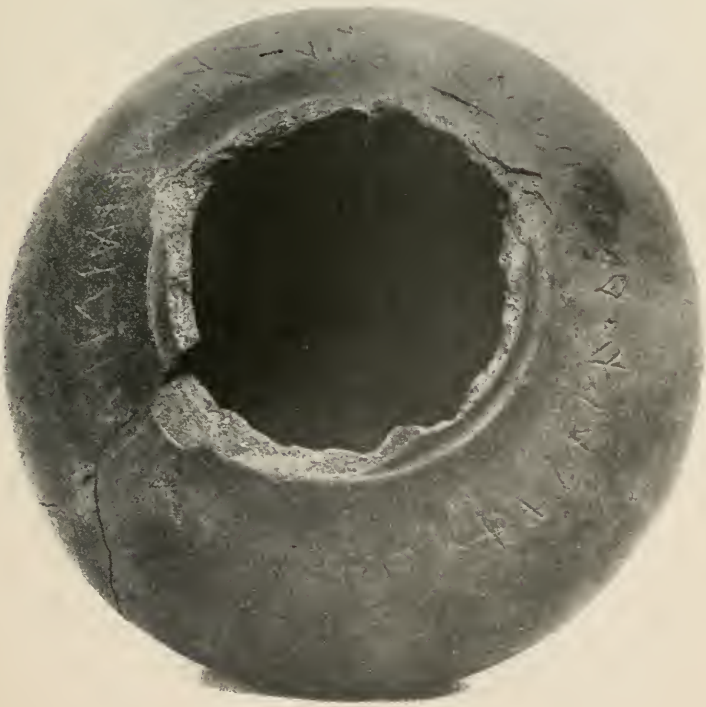

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